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# *The Shape of Things*

THE BEATING OF A SOLDIER—A HOSPITAL patient—by an American general is an incident so shocking to public sentiment about the army that its belated revelation has released a rather disproportionate amount of emotion. We do not take our stand with those who demand a court martial for General Patton. Such action on top of the unofficial but very real punishment he has already suffered would be merely vindictive. A more debatable question is whether Patton should be continued in responsible command in an active theater. The incident occurred halfway through the Sicilian campaign, and Eisenhower, rather than swap generals in the middle of a battle, gave Patton another chance. Since then the Seventh Army has apparently been held in reserve, and when it again goes to the front it may be under a new commander. The argument in favor of retaining Patton is that good combat generals are rarities and he has proved a brave and aggressive leader. But courage and drive are not the only attributes of generalship; cool judgment and emotional endurance are still more necessary. The story of the unhappy hospital scene suggests rather strongly that the general was afflicted by battle shock even more than the man he struck. A private in that condition has to be taken out of the line not only for his own sake but for that of his comrades. Can a general subject to loss of emotional control be safely left in an enormously responsible position? And if he is, will his men retain their confidence in him? These are the questions to which Generals Marshall and Eisenhower must still find answers, and in this difficult task they need the assistance of a medical board rather than a military court.

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BRITAIN'S POLITICAL MANEUVERS IN THE Near East begin to fall into a pattern that suggests something other than the Four Freedoms. Between the French and the Lebanese a truce has been reached which involves neither a compromise nor an understanding. The French have simply been forced to yield all along the line. In making the settlement General Catroux suggested pointedly that the British had intruded without warrant into a political situation that concerned only the French and the Lebanese. But while the British sternly

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curbed the imperialist inclinations of the French in Lebanon, farther south in their own mandate of Palestine they proceeded according to somewhat different principles. The village of Ramat Hakovesh was subjected to a house-to-house search for arms in the course of which all the male inhabitants are reported to have been rounded up and confined within a barbed-wire inclosure. One Jewish civilian is said to have been killed and eight others injured. Ten Palestinian newspapers were suspended for printing what British authorities called "highly tendentious" accounts of the raid. A group of Polish-Jewish soldiers, fleeing from the intensely anti-Semitic Polish army, had taken refuge in the town, and feeling ran high over the British use of Polish soldiers to conduct the search. Ramat Hakovesh sustained repeated attacks by the Arabs in 1936, and here as in other parts of Palestine the British are accused of rank discrimination in the matter of arms. No Arab communities have been searched for weapons, Arabs are permitted to carry hunting rifles, and a number of notorious Arab terrorists have recently been allowed to return from exile. The feeling is inescapable that what the British want is an Arab federation friendly to the empire. Neither Jews nor Frenchmen, it seems, will be allowed to block the way.

*

AT THE MOMENT WHEN THE ATTACK ON General de Gaulle reaches a new crescendo of fury—an attack in which he is charged by reactionaries with the sin of reaction, by anti-Russians with belittling the Moscow pact, and by those who will not preside at the liquidation of the British Empire because he will not preside at the liquidation of the French—at this very moment a new champion of French democracy steps forward. None other than Marshal Pétain. The Marshal is a man with the courage of his convictions. Convinced that Hitler was almighty, he did not hesitate to scrap the constitution of France, liquidate its Parliament, and supplant Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité with the drivel of fascism. Impelled to alter this conviction, the Marshal now, with equal boldness, and beautiful timing, proclaims himself the herald of the Fourth Republic, promises a constitution, and offers his new democracy as an alternative to a revolutionary clash with the Free French when the day of invasion arrives. The move is clever in a sordid way because collaborationists like Frossard, De Monzie, and Georges Bonnet, who prompted the Marshal to this scheme, well know that there are those in England and the United States who would gladly trade a De Gaulle for a Pétain. But it is late in the day. Without an army, a navy, or even the most tenuous hold on the people of France, Vichy's trumps are gone. It is bad enough to sell democracy for a mess of expediency, but it would be utterly senseless to sell it for the mess that is Vichy.

SEIZURE OF THE GILBERT ISLANDS IS NOT, IN itself, a major strategic operation. At most, the islands were merely outposts in the Japanese defensive system. They were not heavily guarded, and their possession does not give us a decisive advantage for future offensive undertakings. The chief significance of the attack lies in its demonstration of growing American naval and air strength. We have no specific information about the number of ships taking part in the Gilbert attack, but dispatches speak of the fleet as one of the most powerful ever assembled in the Pacific, and from the number of enemy planes destroyed, it evidently includes a number of aircraft carriers. The speed with which the Gilberts were overpowered suggests that our forces can similarly seize the Marshalls, Wake, Marcus, and even the Carolines, provided sufficient time is allowed to consolidate each gain. This threat of an attack directly across the Pacific when plans are known to be ready for a drive on Burma and operations against Rabaul are progressing, fully justifies the reports out of Tokyo predicting an early crisis in the war. The Japanese cannot counter our attacks without risking a substantial part of their navy. And if their fleet is destroyed, they will have lost the war.

*

THE TAX BILL JUST ADOPTED BY THE HOUSE may well go down in history as the "Congressman's tax bill." Publication of the new table of surtax rates reveals a reduction of 1 per cent in the rate applicable to incomes ranging between $6,000 and $12,000. Since a Congressman's salary is $10,000 a year, the majority of the members of the House will benefit directly by this change. In contrast, the new bill provides a sharp rise in the taxes levied on single men and women with incomes of $1,200 and less—with the heaviest increase falling on those with the lowest income. In an effort to justify their failure to provide sufficient tax revenues to stem the tide of inflation, the Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee declared that the Administration's request would have imposed "entirely too great a burden on taxpayers generally." And the committee as a whole argued that the $2,000,000,000 provided by the bill was as much as "can be reasonably borne by the taxpayer without unduly disturbing our economy." These assertions make interesting reading in the light of a poll of tax experts recently conducted by the Tax Institute. Two-thirds of the experts—including tax economists, business men, tax lawyers, accountants, bankers, corporation tax agents, and heads of research agencies—were fully convinced that the government could and should raise at least $10,000,000,000 in new revenue by taxation. Since practically all the testimony before the Ways and Means Committee pointed the same way, it is clear that Congress alone must bear responsibility for the inflationary effects of its decision.

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THE TREASURY'S PLAN FOR A WORLD BANK for Reconstruction and Development would serve two purposes. It would encourage resumption of the gold standard by making some of our own huge hoard available to other countries, and it would provide a means of financing American exports in the post-war period. The United States, by all economic logic, ought to supply the whole instead of a mere one-third of the $10,000,000,000 of capital required, but this would hardly win the approval of Congress and, in any case, would diminish the bank's international standing. The plan, prepared by Harry D. White of the Treasury, calls for an initial subscription of 20 per cent, partly in gold, partly in the local currency of the subscribing country. Few countries have enough gold to make any considerable subscription, and it would be better for us if those that did have some gold kept it to finance reconstruction purchases, most of which would naturally come from the United States. Our own country, as Mr. Stone points out this week in his letter from the UNRRA conference in Atlantic City, has to get rid of some of its gold and is badly in need of post-war markets. The World Bank would be a blessing both for the Treasury and for American business, though the plan will probably be attacked as another proposal for "TVA's on the Danube."

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THE TERRIBLE PUNISHMENT THAT IS BEING meted out to Berlin by the R. A. F. has again raised hopes that the German fortress can be cracked by the use of air-power alone. In an eight-day period the weight of bombs dropped on the German capital was nearly equal to that which fell on London during the entire 1940-41 Blitz. Moreover this tremendous attack has been pressed home at relatively light cost. New German defensive tactics have been countered by new British technique, and the Luftwaffe, a large proportion of which is concentrated to guard the home front, is showing signs of strain. But while we do not minimize the strategic significance of the present Anglo-American aerial offensive, we doubt if it can be regarded as more than a preliminary bombardment which must be followed by actual storming of the walls. Provided that the present tempo of attack can be maintained, Berlin itself may be knocked out by the end of the year. That would be a major victory, for, apart from its importance as an industrial and communications center, the city is the symbolic and administrative heart of the Third Reich. On the other hand, Germany is a large country whose industries have been widely dispersed. Many of its vital centers are still almost untouched and between it and invasion from any direction are thick cushions of non-German lands and peoples. So long as these outer works hold the inner fortress is unlikely to yield unless the bombings lead to general and uncontrollable panic.

# *Let Them Vote, But—*

THE laws of politics being what they are, a Congressman would no more dream of opposing the right of soldiers and sailors to vote than he would of sponsoring a measure for compulsory polygamy. It does not follow that, in a given set of circumstances, he would not do everything possible to make that right meaningless. Thus some blend of the Worley bill in the House and the Green-Lucas bill in the Senate, designed to facilitate voting in the armed forces, is certain to get through, but its efficacy will depend on the extent to which Administration leaders can curb the effort of hard-shell Republicans and poll-tax Democrats to emasculate it. The blunt truth is that the soldier vote, by and large, is considered favorable to the Administration. Under the inept soldier-vote law passed in 1942, only 28,000 votes were cast by the services in the last election. By the fall of 1944 there may be as many as 10,000,000 men and women, including the merchant marine, in uniform and away from home. Their votes could very well be decisive.

Opposition to the Senate bill is varied and usually accompanied by a substitute proposal which would wreck it while leaving the wrecker still waving the flag. Senators Eastland of Mississippi and McKellar of Tennessee want the boys to vote, of course, but think that arrangements should be left to the individual states. In other words, as Senator Green of Rhode Island pointed out, "every unit in the field would have to be provided with information as to the laws of all the states, since the men in the service are not distributed according to geographical regions." Moreover, the state laws are in no sense adapted to the war emergency. A New York fighting man, for example, would first have to write to his secretary of state for an application blank; the secretary would mail the blank to him, and he would then fill it out and mail it back to the secretary, who in turn would send him a ballot, which in due course he would fill out and mail back to the secretary. Should the voter happen to be stationed in the Solomons—and stay put for the entire process—the five-way transaction might with luck be achieved in something like three months.

The question of constitutionality is another major battleground on which the opposition can take a patriotic stand. Senator Moore of Oklahoma wants the soldiers to "revere the Constitution" and feels that they would prefer to lose their vote rather than have that document interpreted broadly enough to cover a contingency which its creators could not possibly have foreseen. The constitutionality of the measure is in fact arguable, but it should be noted that the bill is merely a revision of the 1942 law, which was similarly open to question and was duly passed by both houses and signed by the President. Defenders of the measure rest their case on special war

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powers whose necessity overrides a literal reading of the Constitution which in any case violates its spirit.

Senator Brooks of Illinois, besides objecting to the inclusion of the merchant marine in the bill, considers the omission of printed names on the ballot a New Deal plot, since "the name of the President might be more readily remembered among the service men than that of his political opponent." But if the mailing of ballots has to wait for all the nominations to be made, many a soldier in Australia and many a sailor on the high seas will lose his vote—which may be exactly what Colonel McCormick's favorite Senator has in mind.

Numerous other objections have been advanced, most of them of the same caliber as the contention of the New York *Daily News* that "any top sergeant or chief petty officer who happened to be all slopped up with zeal for the New Deal could scare quite a few votes into the New Deal column." The few sober and obviously genuine objections to the bill have already been heeded and the measure modified accordingly. Senators Green and Lucas have both assured their colleagues that if the minority leaders object to either of the Republican appointees to be named by the President to the four-man War Ballot Commission, they will vote with the minority against confirmation. Going farther, the sponsors of the bill have accepted Senator Vandenberg's amendment that all decisions of the commission must be by majority vote, thus assuring the assent of at least one minority member.

Precautions against political intrigue have been taken, and the matter now resolves itself into the simple question of whether or not it is desirable for every soldier, sailor, merchant mariner, and woman auxiliary who is over twenty-one to have a voice in the 1944 election. It may well be that the Administration has political reasons to take the affirmative. Even accepting this over-cynical interpretation, there is more justice in upholding the soldier vote because it might favor the Democrats than in denying it for the same reason.

# *Mosley Is a Symbol*

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE most important British action last week was not the bombing of Berlin; it was the freeing of Oswald Mosley. The effects of Mosley's release were less spectacular but they carried far greater meaning for Britain's future. The demonstrations and resolutions of censure were only the beginning, a warning of the mood of suspicion and rebellion which burns very close to the surface of the British working-class mind. The government will do well to heed it.

Superficially the affair was insignificant, and the government's act was in the purest British tradition. Sir Oswald and his wife and a number of his followers had been held in prison for more than three years—held without trial under a war-time security regulation. The conscience of the government was never easy about these administrative arrests, and Mosley was allowed many unusual privileges. He and his wife were housed in four adjoining rooms in Holloway Prison and permitted to have their own furnishings and radio. And when Mosley's health failed, Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, ordered him released.

Immediately questions were asked. Other prisoners had to put up with the hospital facilities provided by the institution; why not Mosley?—Well, because of his peculiar status; he had never been properly convicted.—But then should he not have been let out long ago?—No, because at an earlier stage of the war he might have been able to do some harm. Now he couldn't; and anyway the security officers would keep an eye on him.—But how about his wife, who was jailed as a fascist in her own right? Why should she come out? She's not ill.—Well, no, but after all she *is* his wife, and if he is not a danger neither is she. As a matter of fact, several other imprisoned fascists have also been released.—Because they are ill?—No, they are not ill, but they are considered harmless.—Then would Mosley also be released, even if he were not ill?—Oh, no. Mosley is being released because he is ill. That is the only reason.

And so British justice, nicely tempered with nonsense and a bad conscience and respect for upper-class privilege, ejected the country's leading fascist from jail—and found itself the object of fierce attack by all of organized labor and much of the unorganized public.

Why? What has generated so much anger over so normal and so English a procedure? What is all the row about, anyway? The row is only incidentally about Mosley, even though the marching workers carry placards denouncing his ugly record. The row is about something quite different. It is a popular vote of no confidence in the political behavior of the Churchill government. It is notice served on the government, including the Labor ministers, that the workers no longer trust its political intentions. The fact that Herbert Morrison has done a good job will not save him in the eyes of the workers. For the freeing of Mosley symbolizes the thing the workers fear—betrayal of the democratic aim for which they fight and work.

It is difficult to believe that Herbert Morrison expressed his own convictions as a person and a Labor minister in the matter of Mosley. More likely the decision was forced through by the Tory majority in the government, and the Home Secretary had to carry it into effect or resign. But by taking responsibility for the government's act he may well have forfeited his own political future. For the anger of Britain's workers has been clearly expressed. The Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labor Party, and the National

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Council of Labor, a body representing the two other organizations and the cooperative movement, have all condemned the action of the government. Alone among the official labor bodies, the Parliamentary Labor group has indorsed Mosley's release by a vote of fifty-one to forty-three. But this narrow margin in Morrison's favor, in a group whose freedom of action is inhibited by Labor's collaboration in the government, is small consolation. Herbert Morrison faces the opposition of every important working-class organization in Britain, as well as the open hostility of the rank and file.

For British labor is still fighting a war against fascism. To the ordinary worker Oswald Mosley is as much a fascist as Hitler, and as much an enemy. That Mosley is less dangerous seems to him beside the point. What concerns him is the meaning of the fight, and he finds that meaning dissolved, washed away, lost, in the soft justice meted out to a rich and titled fascist.

# The Miseries of Midas

BY I. F. STONE

*Atlantic City, November 26*

*WHAT Will Congress Do?* "I don't think we've done anything here," a member of the American delegation said anxiously in the Claridge cocktail room the other night, "to which Congress could take exception." This is the shadow which haunts this first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation conference. The other issues which divide or worry representatives of the forty-four United Nations in the UNRRA dwindle beside the question of whether Congress will authorize the necessary appropriation to start the new organization going. The various "hows" are far less important than the "whether." If Congress makes the appropriation, hungry people can be fed, devastation alleviated. Nothing else really matters.

*Boondoggling Abroad?* The chances are that the UNRRA will get its money, but increased grumbling may be anticipated about "boondoggling abroad." The announcement by the Treasury of plans for a World Development Bank may be expected to increase the irritation of the small-minded and provide new material for xenophobic demagogy. The truth is that we have grown so rich we've got to give some of our wealth away or choke on it. Charity has become an economic necessity. We have so much of the world's gold that unless we find some way to use it, it will lose much of its value. Its value depends on resumption of the gold standard. But other nations cannot go back to the gold standard unless they have enough gold. The many devices worked out during the past decade for clearing international payments and arranging trade without gold make it easier than ever to abandon the gold standard permanently. If that happens, we can use our gold to fill our dental cavities or adorn our fingers.

*A Midas in Misery.* From this point of view, the UNRRA is but one of many steps we must take to maintain our wealth by arranging to dispose of our surpluses. The World Bank proposed by the Treasury would make gold and gold credits available to the rest of the world to buy the excess products of our farms and factories. (Hold on to your seats a moment while I dwell on the fantastic character of the economy in which we live. The gold-buying policies of the Roosevelt Administration were a device to give goods away abroad. Its economic value in stimulating business at home lay in the fact that foreigners of course took goods, not dollar bills, in return for their metal. Now through the World Bank we propose to reverse the process, lending them back some of the gold with which to buy our exports again. This is how the merry-go-round of world capitalism operates.)

*Food Surpluses, Too.* It is pretty generally understood that our industrial capacity has been vastly expanded by the war; recent cries of anguish from the machine-tool industry provided the most dramatic example of our need for reviving markets abroad. Less understood is the fact that there has been a comparable expansion of agricultural production. Technological improvements, soil conservation, and enlarged acreage have pushed food production up enormously. Although one-fourth of our food is being used for military and lend-lease purposes, domestic food consumption per capita has reached the highest level in a generation. In 1941 and 1942 it was 10 per cent above the 1933-39 average, and it will remain 5 per cent above in 1943 and 1944. As the war ends, we can either plow this increased production under or give it away. We spent a half-billion dollars a year restricting farm output during the '30's. It would probably cost us three-quarters of a billion to push production back to the old levels now. That three-quarters of a billion multiplied by two is just about the amount we are being asked to put into the UNRRA, which will probably last two years after the war is over.

*The Advantages of Charity.* Shipping surpluses abroad instead of restricting output maintains a higher level of employment and economic activity at home. The process is no different from that whereby Britain before the First World War and the United States before the Second World War lent money abroad to make it possible for

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other countries to build railroads and factories and buy consumer goods. A large amount of this business was actually a gift, for many of the loans were wiped out in periodic economic crises and never repaid. But on net balance this foreign lending was profitable in maintaining economic activity. The difference between this older process of lending and what is being organized now through the UNRRA, World Bank, and other proposed devices is that the risk is socialized, like insurance, and power rests with governments rather than great private bankers. Unfortunately, though we are the world's greatest, if not the only, creditor nation, we still have a debtor-nation psychology.

*What Will the Brass Hats Say?* Next to Congress, the UNRRA's greatest hurdle is the ambitious attitude and covert hostility of the military. Under the basic UNRRA agreement the army decides when, where, and how the UNRRA shall operate. Interdepartmental committees began work on the problem of relief for liberated countries under the general chairmanship of Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson in June of 1942. The committee on food under H. A. Tolley more than a year ago recommended immediate action to buy and stock food for liberated countries. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation (OFRRA) under Governor Lehman submitted a detailed program of purchases to the War Food Administration last May. But no food has been bought. The OFRRA asked $300,000,000 and was given an allocation of $75,000,000 for the quarter beginning July 1, but this was canceled late in August because of military hostility. The army is not equipped to feed civilian populations and in Italy has been handing out too much in some areas, including meat, and too little in others, where it has provided mostly flour. Military power over procurement machinery in this country and over transport facilities abroad leaves the UNRRA dependent on the military, and the ideal situation would be one in which they worked together. Brass-hat contempt for civilians is the psychological "block."

*Other Difficulties.* As this is written, the Soviet delegation is still holding its cards close to its vest. Barring action from that quarter, the UNRRA will be dominated by Britain and the United States, exercising power through the Combined Food Board, an Anglo-American-Canadian body. The smaller nations are split into those which have no money and those which have. The latter —the Dutch, Norwegian, and French—have won the right to appeal over the head of the UNRRA and Lehman, its director general, to the Combined Food Board and thus obtain more than their fair share of scarce world supplies. The State Department and the British Foreign Office have an understanding to maintain the supremacy of the Combined Food Board and restrict the UNRRA's power. Confusion has also been created because no one yet knows whether Lehman's old OFRRA will be merged in the UNRRA or remain in Leo T. Crowley's new Foreign Economic Administration. The infant UNRRA has an adult collection of headaches.

# *Finland Waits Too Long*

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

SECRETARY HULL was apparently wise enough to disregard the advice of those benevolent meddlers who urged him to plead Finland's cause at the Moscow conference. Although he saw Hjalmar J. Procope, Finnish envoy in Washington, on the eve of his departure for Moscow, there is no evidence that he sought to obtain easy terms for Hitler's halfway ally. If he did, the attempt was futile, for the Kremlin's stand on the question of a separate peace with Finland has stiffened if anything since the conference.

On the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Bolshevist Revolution Stalin, in one of his typical tirades, dealt caustically with the belated attempts of some of Germany's satellites to break away from the Axis. Referring specifically to Finland as one of the "participants in the Hitlerite coalition," he said:

> The leaders of these vassals, until so recently still obedient to their master, now recognize that the time has come to answer for their robbery, and they are taking to the bushes and trying to find a favorable moment to slip away from the robber giant.
>
> On entering the war those who would share in Hitler's gains decided in advance what pieces would fall to whom: to whom the cakes and the buns, to whom the bumps and the bruises. Of course, the bumps and the bruises were reserved for their enemies; for themselves, the cakes and the buns. But now it is clear that Germany and its vassals won't get the cakes and the buns; instead the Allies reserve for them the bumps and the bruises. . . .

Elsewhere in his speech Stalin spoke of the "Karelian-Finnish Republic" as one of the Soviet territories which the Red Army was going to liberate in short order. This is a revealing clue to the minimum demands which a victorious Russia may be expected to make on a defeated Finland.

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The "Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic," to give it its official name, did not come into existence until after the Peace of Moscow (March 12, 1940), which ended the war between Finland and the Soviet Union. It was formed from the former Karelian Republic, a subdivision of Russia proper, and territory ceded to the U. S. S. R. by Finland. Stalin's reference to it, therefore, clearly indicates that in dealing with Finland he will insist, at the very least, on the boundaries established in 1940. (At present a large part of the Karelian-Finnish Republic is occupied by Finnish troops.)

Coincident with this reaffirmation, by Stalin himself, that the Karelian-Finnish Republic is to be regarded as an integral part of the Soviet Union, comes news from Moscow of intensified political activity by Otto Wilhelm Kuusinen, the Finnish Communist leader who headed the Terijoki puppet government after the Soviet invasion of Finland in December, 1939, and later became chief executive of the Karelian-Finnish Republic. A few weeks ago Kuusinen published in Moscow a pamphlet entitled "Finland Unmasked" which concluded: "The vital interests of both the Finnish people and the people of Soviet Russia call for the creation of reliable guaranties which would preclude a repetition at any time of Finland's bandit attack on the U. S. S. R." As head of one of the Soviet Union's sixteen constituent republics, and even more as one of the vice-presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Kuusinen has considerable weight in the councils of the Kremlin, and the prominence given his views by *Pravda* and other Soviet papers suggests that he will be influential in deciding Finland's fate.

At this juncture, and in particular after the Moscow conference, it is hard to see what the United States or Great Britain could do to save Finland from being converted into a Soviet protectorate on the model of, say, Outer Mongolia if Stalin decided that the future security of Russia's northwestern border necessitated such an arrangement. The Finns have only themselves to blame for this situation, for they have ignored, or deliberately spurned, literally dozens of attempts made by American and British diplomats to take them out of the war while there was still time.

As long as Russia stood to benefit from Finland's withdrawal from the war, Allied intervention in behalf of Finland had a good chance of success. Only a few months ago the Finns could have had a fairly good separate peace for the asking, including perhaps even an adjustment of the 1940 frontiers. Unfortunately all moves in this direction were blocked by the Finnish militarists, who stubbornly refused to evacuate the Soviet-Karelian territory held by them. With the shortsightedness that so often characterizes military leaders, the Finnish General Staff insisted that military occupation of Soviet Karelia was Finland's surest guaranty of future independence.

There has been little if any fighting along the Karelian front for more than a year. At times it has appeared as if the Soviets, concentrating all their attention on the central and southern sectors of the 2,000-mile front, were completely uninterested in the barren northern tracts where the Finnish army was intrenched. But the virtual armistice on this front never had the political implications which some uninformed commentators have attributed to it. The Russians were simply biding their time in the sound conviction that, once Hitler's armies had been beaten, the Finnish sector would crumple. That moment is near today.

Hardly any other nation has banked so senselessly on the time element as the Finns. They hoped that by holding their ground where the high-water mark of the German drive had left them and fighting a purely defensive war they would place themselves in an advantageous bargaining position. If there had ever been a chance that the war in Russia would end in a stalemate and a compromise peace, that might have been a sound speculation. But only those who are profoundly ignorant of Soviet Russia could imagine that Moscow would settle for much less than complete recovery of the 1941 boundaries.

Ironically enough, the Finns, like the Rumanians, the Hungarians, and other Nazi satellites, hoped almost as much from the Moscow conference as did the United Nations. There is a widespread belief in Nazi-controlled Europe that the principal objective of the United States as the guardian of democracy and of the Atlantic Charter must be to save Hitler's small-time vassals from the consequences of their collusion with the Axis. President Roosevelt's recent message to Congress and even more the outcome of the Moscow conference have somewhat subdued, but by no means blighted, these hopes. Mr. Procope in Washington is still pulling wires—in the State Department, in Congress, in the press.

Whatever the Finns' cultural achievements and their lonely heroism in 1939, it is absurd to speak of the Finland of 1943 as a "democracy" waging a "private," "defensive" war against a "totalitarian giant"—the expressions used by Finland's apologists in this country. In no country which has admitted Hitler's legions, be it an occupied or an "allied" country, can democracy survive. Finland today is in the grip of a high-handed secret police and of a thoroughly Nazified military clique headed by Marshal Mannerheim. Only in the last few weeks has any serious attempt been made to remove the despotic chief of the Finnish secret police, Anthoni, and to replace him with a more "democratic" official (see the New York *Times* of November 8).

The silence of the Moscow declarations on the subject

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of Finland, coupled with Stalin's contemptuous remarks, have at last jolted the Helsinki government from its hopefully waiting attitude. In the last few weeks feverish activity has been noted in the Finnish capital. Three of the country's leading diplomats—T. M. Kivimäki, Minister to Berlin, Onni Talas, Minister to Rome, and Georg A. Gripenberg, Minister to Stockholm and a nephew of Marshal Mannerheim's—have been recalled for consultation. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Finnish rubber-stamp Diet is in almost permanent session, and according to the usually well-informed Stockholm *Social-Demokraten,* Finland's ace trouble-shooter and three-times peacemaker, Juho K. Paasikivi, is "standing by" for another trip to Moscow. Now that the sands are running out in Finland's hour-glass, the bankrupt politicians of Helsinki are moving heaven and earth in a last-minute attempt to stave off disaster.

All signs point to a coming Finnish peace bid—much too late to accomplish anything. But the official press still insists that as long as the Finnish army has not been eliminated Finland will never accept unconditional surrender.

What, then, has Finland to offer? The Germans, according to reliable reports, have already removed the bulk of their troops from the Finnish front, leaving only a few skeleton divisions to cover the retreat. So Finland can no longer offer to immobilize, or at least force the withdrawal of, a sizable German force. There is as yet no evidence that the Finnish army will be voluntarily withdrawn to the 1940-41 boundaries. Nor is there, thus far, the slightest indication that the three men primarily responsible for Finland's present plight—President Risto Ryti, Finance Minister Väinö Tanner, and Field Marshal Mannerheim—are prepared to resign. All three are absolutely unacceptable to the Kremlin. In the circumstances, it will take almost a miracle to make Moscow even consider a Finnish request for a separate peace.

# *The Moral Front*

BY ARCHIBALD MacLEISH

WE HAVE had a great deal to say about the plain meaning to our enemies of the Moscow conference. Its plain meaning to ourselves is certainly no less obvious and no less encouraging. The Moscow conference offers the first clear indication that we have learned at long last to read the history of the First World War. We do not propose, regardless of what we may have said on this subject in the past, to "win the war first" and talk about the peace afterward. We do not propose to divide the war from the peace as Wilson divided them. We propose instead to create the peace in the process of fighting the war and as its principal objective.

Down to November 1, 1943, we were apparently reading the history of 1917-18 to mean, in the words of the current epigram, that it is a mistake to win a war and lose the peace that follows. From which we concluded that history's lesson for us was the lesson that we must win the war first and then make sure to win the peace as well. Which meant in practical terms that this time we must be as smart as Clemenceau, or this time we must keep the President at home, or this time we must say our unmistakable say to any little band of Senators who might set themselves up against the people's will. It does not seem to have occurred to us that the epigram was merely an epigram: that you cannot win a war and lose the peace; that if the peace is lost, the war is lost. The real lesson of 1918 was the lesson that if you wait to win the peace until you have won the war, you will win neither.

The fundamental mistake of Wilson's leadership was that he attempted, as some of our contemporaries, here and in England, have attemped in the present war, to "win the war first." Wilson believed that once the war was won, he could sit down around a table with the men of good-will and draft a better world. It was this split in Wilson's thinking between the war and the peace which produced the tragic irony of his failure.

On December 4, 1917, in one of the greatest speeches of his great career, Mr. Wilson made that fissure evident. Answering his own question, "When shall we consider the war won?" the President told the two houses of Congress:

> First . . . this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, . . . when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the

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> bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world —we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and to pay it ungrudgingly.

First the German Thing must be destroyed, and *then* a just peace would be made. The assumption was basic. It was repeated more than once. "Let it be said again," said the President, "that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world." "Not until that has been done can right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations." The war would end when the German people, putting aside the German Thing, admitted the wrong done and agreed to repair the damage, in so far as they could repair it, and to accept a settlement based upon justice. When this had happened, peace would be discussed. Peace would be "made."

The echo sounds very near. It was a speech a man might make today. It was a speech, indeed, which men *have* made today. And not in passionless imitation but in belief and hope. Wilson was never nobler than when he declared the reasons for his confidence that a just peace could be made. The "voices of humanity" were in the air. "They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere." "Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issue invoked." "The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live." No representative of any self-governed nation would ever again dare attempt "such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna." We have heard sentences like these in our own time. But with us men speak not of the Congress of Vienna but of the Conference of Versailles. The tragedy of our time is the reenactment in so short a space, not of the sufferings only, but of the hopes of men.

Wilson's mistake was not, as some of us seem ignobly to have concluded, that he hoped too much. Wilson's mistake was that he hoped too little. Like all decent and humane men, he hated war. He refused therefore to admit even to himself that a war could be an affirmative political action. A war to Wilson, however offensive its military strategy might be, was by its nature politically defensive—politically a means of countering your enemy and nothing more. Political affirmations belonged, in Wilson's world, to the conference table, after the war was won. And to us also, before the Moscow conference, they seemed to belong to the conference table. To us also a war was not capable of political meaning but only of military effects. To us also the final wisdom was the reminder that first we must stop our enemies and that only then would what we proposed to do be determined.

And yet the record of 1918 was there for anyone to read. Mr. Wilson's preliminary conditions were fulfilled to the last syllable. The German people did, as Mr. Wilson had said they must, renounce the German Thing. They did admit their responsibility for the war and agree to make good the damage. Upon the basis of these German acts peace was discussed, as Mr. Wilson said it would be discussed. Everything happened as he said it must happen. And there was no peace. There was instead a conference beside which the Congress of Vienna need not blush, an exhibition of political pettiness, particularly in this country, which equaled if it did not surpass previous exhibitions, a sick and uneasy armistice of a generation or less, a second German Thing worse by far than the first, and a Second World War as much more deadly than the first as the first was more deadly than anything that had gone before it. It was not the peace that was lost. It was the war that was lost. And why? Because our arms were inadequate? No, our arms were successful. Because we divorced, in our minds and in our words, the military war from the political peace.

But there is more in the record of 1918 than the lesson that you cannot win the war first and the peace afterward. There is also affirmative proof that if the peace and the war are made together as parts of a common action, both can be won. Mr. Wilson did accomplish one of his principal objectives, the objective which he put in his Mount Vernon speech of July 4, 1918, as the foremost of the ends "for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace." That objective was "the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world. . . ." The arbitrary powers which had made that war were destroyed. But they were not destroyed at Versailles; they were destroyed as a political consequence of the actual fighting.

In his reply to the German request for an armistice of October 12, 1918, the President, through the Secretary of State, called the attention of the German government to the Mount Vernon declaration and stated: "The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it." The effect of that declaration and of the subsequent declaration of October 23 is now history. On November 9 the Kaiser abdicated. He would be a bold man who would contend, with the chronicle of Versailles before him, that the autocratic governments of the Central Powers would have been destroyed if this objective like the others had been left to the council table to debate.

The lesson of the last war, I most earnestly submit, is not that Senator Lodge was a vain and petty man, or that Clemenceau was as vindictive as he was blind, or that

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President Wilson should have stayed at home. The lesson is that you cannot run a modern war in two sections like a fast express—a war action followed by a peace action. Because if you do, neither section will arrive; and for this reason—that a modern war is itself a political action, is indeed the most expressive and assertive of all political actions. To deny it—to believe, or to pretend to believe, that the military war has no political implications and can have no political effects—is to frustrate the war effort and to defeat its purpose. A modern war is an action of entire peoples which absorbs their total will and every interest of their lives. It must be worthy of the effort it demands. If it is not, if it is presented as a military action only, it may be brought to an end, but it will not be brought to achievement. For it is not possible to summon up that will of millions of men and women a second time, after the announced and asserted end has been accomplished, to push still farther forward to the real objective.

There are those who resent being told that this war is a war of ideas, but neither they nor any of us can escape that fact. This war, whether we like it or not, is a war for the moral and political domination of our time and of the time after. Those who made it, made it in the belief that they could impose upon men their conceptions of society, rightly estimating that if they could succeed, everything else—economic advantage, territorial advantage—would follow. They struck—they dared to strike because they were restrained by no respect or reverence of their own—at the heart of human power, at the essential principle of faith. Whether we admit it to ourselves or not, this war is a war fought by our enemies on that level and in those terms. And as things now are, we run the risk of losing the war itself to enemies our armies have defeated; of seeing the moral revolution of our enemies overthrow the moral order we defend even though our enemies themselves have been destroyed.

By the mere action of making their war at the political and moral level our enemies have won terrible victories already in the field they chose. Their initial advantage—and it was an overwhelming advantage—was precisely that they were willing to challenge the moral sense of civilized mankind. It is no new thing in the chronicle of the human spirit to see the scoffer, the derider, the blasphemer, win victories against belief and faith. What is new is to see a government, a nation, committing itself to a great war in the cause of contempt, the cause of blasphemy, the cause of the worthlessness and ignobility of man. But in one case as in the other the initial advantage is the same. The advantage is the advantage of *daring* to deride, *daring* to despise. The advantage is the fact of the attack, the fact that the forbidden words are spoken.

It is foolish to talk of the Nazi propaganda in this war as though it were the dissemination of evil. If it were only that, it would be weak indeed. What is dangerous in the propaganda of our enemies is the fact that it is an attack *against* the good. There is no need to use the propaganda agencies of a great power to disseminate evil. Evil existed in the world, all forms and kinds of evil, long before Hitler and Goebbels and the rest. What the moral and political attack can do is to break down the moral preconceptions, the implicit and accepted beliefs, which hold the social infection of evil in restraint.

The obvious example is the Nazi racial propaganda. There was no need for the Nazis to set up radio installations to infect the world with racial hatreds. The seeds are very old. They are scattered everywhere. But the seeds in a healthy and sane society germinate, if at all, in little pockets of corruption which are sealed off from the common healthy life by the virulence of their poison and by the cleansing current of the common public decency and the common self-restraint. In a free society which is strong the infections of racial hatred are checked by the inner sanity and order of the nation. It is this sanity, this restraining order, which the Nazis have attacked. Our enemies know—know better, apparently, than we—that the basic strength of a free society is its belief in the dignity of man as man, of every man, no matter what his tongue or race. They know that this belief depends for its vitality upon its practice. They know that its practice rests upon the inner social discipline which alone restrains its violation. They know that once the unspoken restraints are publicly broken down, once the weave of common agreement, common self-discipline is broken, the entire garment will begin to ravel out.

And it is this precisely that they intend. They have used racial hatreds not for the sake of racial hatreds but to destroy the moral order without which the democratic world cannot survive. They have won victories already, as every honest man who is willing to face the facts admits. The great and terrible question of this year is whether we shall permit them to win further victories—to win the final victory they propose; whether we shall permit them, though defeated in the war itself, to win their moral victory over the democratic order which many millions of us still believe the war is fought and suffered to defend.

What the final answer to that question will be no living man can know. But of one answer even the living can be certain. We cannot win this war in the political and moral field unless the war is fought there. But to fight the war there *means* to fight the war there. It does not mean to fight the war as a purely military operation, leaving the moral and political issues for a conference on the peace. No conference, no treaty of peace, can restore by articles of agreement the authority of a moral order. Only a great and overwhelming affirmation of the

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faith of mankind, of the conscience of humanity, can give force and power to belief.

If we fight and win this war as a purely military operation devoid of political and moral objectives, our victory will, it is true, have meaning. Any victory has meaning in the memory of mankind. But the meaning of our victory, if we fight the war on those terms, will be only this—that our military skill and our man-power and our resources of industry and wealth were superior to those of our enemies.

Really to win this war—to win on the dangerous and threatening level where the war is truly fought—our victory must mean far more than that. It must be a victory not only for our wealth and strength but for our conscience and our truth against the lie which has attacked them. It must be a victory which will discredit, in actions which every eye can read, the pretensions of our enemies, a victory which will mean to all men everywhere that democracy is strong and living and cannot be overcome.

To those who mistrust words and their uses, the definition of our objectives in this war will seem a trivial thing. It will seem to them unimportant whether this war is fought for unconditional surrender first and a pious approval of international cooperation afterward, or fought literally and precisely for the Four Freedoms and the world the Four Freedoms imply. It will seem to them irrelevant whether our actions in the war prove to the world that the war is one for the reaffirmation of democracy or only a war to be won. But words are not trivial or irrelevant things, even in the midst of fighting. It makes a difference to the entire future of the world how we answer for ourselves the question Wilson asked —"When shall we consider the war won?" It makes a difference to the future of the world and of this country and of ourselves, each one of us, whether the victory we set ourselves to win is the moral and political victory the President defined twenty-three months ago when he told us for what ends we fought or the purely military victory to which many voices on both sides of the Atlantic have attempted to commit us.

It makes the difference between peace and war.

Early in 1918 the editor of the Manchester *Guardian* said to an American observer in England: "Things are moving very fast and are going wrong. There is no one to look to but President Wilson, but the danger that confronts us is that the President may find the control of his ideas taken out of his hands." History never altogether repeats itself. But no one I think can read these words in the autumn of 1943 without a recognition, like the recognition of a dream, that we have passed this way before—and must awake. It is possible to believe—indeed, it is necessary to believe—that there has been an awakening and that the declaration of Moscow is its outward form.

# *25 Years Ago in "The Nation"*

THE FORMAL ABDICATION of the Kaiser removes an important legal obstacle to the reconstitution of Germany on other than a monarchical basis, if that is desired. What the new form of government will be, however, is wholly a matter of speculation.—*December 7, 1918.*

KARL LIEBKNECHT has been humanity's witness at the heart of Germany. Eager, earnest, unquenchable, he has shouted into the unwilling ears of German ministers and judges what we have said in the safety afforded by Allied bayonets. And now the fortunes of war have taken this man from jail and set him on high. Three years ago he raised his voice alone; now great masses of men look to him for direction.—*December 7, 1918.*

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY, with some 300 parliamentary candidates in the general election now in progress, has made its campaign on a platform of thoroughgoing social reorganization. A published summary of the more important provisions of the platform includes a special tax on capital, free trade, no tariffs, immediate nationalization of all lands, immediate nationalization of vital public-service systems, better housing conditions, free public education, freedom for Ireland and India, "hands-off" democracy with immediate withdrawal of troops from Russia, no conscription, equal rights for women, a peace of reconciliation with no secret diplomacy and no economic war, the charter of labor to be incorporated in the principles of a league of free peoples.—*December 14, 1918.*

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA is the break, in the north, of that better day which has been predicted so often by all the prophets and looked for so long by all the children of men; all: the day of the redemption of His people: "When the proud were to be scattered, the princes put down from thrones, and those of low degree exalted; when the hungry were to be filled and the rich were to be sent away empty."—"CHRISTIAN" [LINCOLN STEFFENS], *December 21, 1918.*

THE DEATH OF EDMOND ROSTAND, which took place on December 2, will neither eclipse our gaiety nor darken our wisdom. But it robs our time of a talent of almost alien brightness and colorfulness, as blithe and as unrelieved in its splendor as those Mediterranean shores by which the poet was born and to which his imagination always returned. —LUDWIG LEWISOHN, *December 21, 1918.*

BY WAY OF CONTRAST with the amiable and liberal utterances lately exchanged by Italian diplomats and American statesmen, it is interesting to read in recent dispatches from Paris that the representatives there from Yugoslav countries are "becoming disturbed." Perhaps the failure of President Wilson and the representatives of Italy to discuss the Italian claims "in detail" may be the cause of this seemingly unreasonable state of the Yugoslav mind.—*December 28, 1918.*

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# *Diary of the Future*

BY VERNON BARTLETT

*[This is the fifth instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. Previous instalments have described the chaotic conditions in Europe following Germany's collapse and the growing political tension in Britain. The scene now shifts to Washington.]*

## V. The Peace Conference Opens

*SEPTEMBER 13.* Back in Washington. I was here in May, 1943, and I don't like the change in the atmosphere, even though it is fun to meet so many old friends. The gap between Congress and the Executive is wider than ever. The very fact that the President has fought so consistently to assure that the United States shall shoulder responsibilities consonant with its material wealth and influence turns thousands of Americans against the acceptance of these responsibilities.

I hadn't anticipated so much bitterness against Europe. Very few people admit the right of these small countries to feel as nationalistic as the big ones do. The Yugoslavs have just had a political crisis, even though their government was backed by America and Britain. This seems to have made the State Department nearly as angry as it was over the De Gaulle business in 1943. Never were the United Nations so little united, and Walter Lippmann foresees a terrific row between the great and small powers.

*September 15.* Lippmann was right. The President seemed tired when he opened the Peace Conference, but made, I thought, the best speech of his career. But from the appointment of Darlan onward, some of his advisers have used Europeans whom most Europeans hate and despise. General de Gaulle, who has a good many snubs from the State Department to forget, and who has a very retentive memory, came out as the spokesman of the smaller European nations, each of which has had its contribution to make to civilization. He received an embarrassing amount of applause. The second surprise came when the Soviet delegation staked its own claim to leadership. Anthony Eden, who is so much better than he sounds in his speeches, was obviously hampered by the uncertainties of the crisis at home. (If Polish influenza had not kept the Prime Minister away, we should have had a much more forthright speech, but one doubts whether it would have been so liberal or so delicate in its dealings with the Soviet Union, France, and the lesser European states.) One had the feeling that the conference was getting a little out of hand, and the breakdown of supplies in Europe lessened the authority of the great powers.

*September 16.* Alan Moorehead of the *Daily Express* has just arrived here from Warsaw, Budapest, and Bucharest. His account is too terrible to be printable. Years of undernourishment and hardship have so weakened resistance that the Polish influenza is killing even more people than the Germans killed. Its ravages are particularly marked in Germany itself, where it is helped on by a kind of "despairing apathy."

This confirms an article by John Gunther about the breakdown of distribution arrangements in Europe. In Eastern Europe, where the need is greatest, there is still sporadic fighting between the advancing Russians, a few Polish bands, and a few German regiments, commanded by men whose fear of communism is so fanatical that it prevails over the general apathy. According to Gunther, this very fanaticism is only another symptom of bewilderment and despair. At one moment the Poles and Germans are allied against the Russians; at the next they are murdering each other. In either event, no distribution of seed or livestock is possible, and the plight of the peasants is heartbreaking.

*September 17.* The conference, after a stormy plenary session, has appointed a Directing Committee which, after a stormy private session, has appointed six commissions. This, I think, is more sensible than it sounds, although the composition of the Directing Committee is the result of a piece of unnecessary bullying. It is, after all, the fate of Europe that is being decided, and the European states have to agree upon two delegates to direct the conference with three other delegates representing the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain. Naturally enough, one of these two delegates will be a Frenchman. How one other man is to represent the interests of such diverse states as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Norway, and Holland nobody knows.

The sensible decision is to make the commissions technical rather than political, as far as possible. A delegate to each commission will be appointed by each European government, but he will not be able to bind his government. That can only be done by the full delegates in the plenary conference. What created a bad impression was the insistence by the great powers that the plenary sessions would be expected to accept almost without discussion the majority reports of these commissions. This was not a very polite way of telling the European governments that

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their technical advice would be welcomed but their political interference would not, and upon men like General de Gaulle it had the effect that anybody could have foreseen. He is being given a leadership over Europeans he could never have won on his own merits.

The Juridical Commission has to advise on the fate of war criminals, on the establishment of a permanent European Court of International Justice, and on the preparation of a new Declaration of the Rights of Man—a praiseworthy American proposal to overcome the old objection to international interference with the national sovereignty of any state. The Transport Commission has to overcome objections to the international ownership and control of all transport. It has the initial advantage that every government needs supplies from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and the UNRRA has been able to take over transport for the purpose, but the final enemy will not be the governments so much as the big private interests. Big business in London and New York is already actively organizing opposition to a procedure which, if successful, would ultimately be extended to Britain and the United States.

The most bitter discussions are expected in the Commission for German Reeducation—some delegates wanted the deletion of the prefix "re." This is bound to be political, despite its name, for every government will have to make up its mind what sort of Germany it wants, and which side it is on in the unconfessed international civil war—on the side of privilege or on that of the common man. But perhaps the most important commission will be the Economic and Financial Commission. So few people understand the fundamental difference between "Bancor" and "Unitas"—I certainly don't—and protagonists of the Keynes scheme or the White scheme are as bitter and intolerant as the narrower and more fervent protagonists of some religion.

The Restitution and Reparation Commission is likely to have less trouble; it will easily reach agreements even though they may not easily be enforced. Every delegation has a formidable list of national treasures stolen by the Germans, and none is likely to protest that his neighbor is exaggerating.

The restitution of economic wealth is, of course, a much more complicated business. France, and other countries in which the state is to have much more control than it used to have, won't do so badly; all stocks and shares in French enterprises standing in the name of German individuals or the German government will simply be transferred to the French state; and it will become a matter of French internal politics, after the new constitution has been adopted, to decide which of these industries shall go back into private hands and under what conditions.

Czechoslovakia, Austria, and to a lesser extent the other occupied countries have assets as well as claims. It is only now, when the war is over, that one can appreciate the extent to which Hitler had to transfer and to disperse German industry. Austria has become one of the highly industrialized states of Europe, and the collapse came so quickly that very few of its factories were badly bombed. The development of Upper Silesia, too, will greatly benefit Poland, and the number of small industries in the overpopulated and impoverished region between the Baltic and the Black Sea will help to raise the standard of living there—if this cursed Polish influenza leaves enough population to do the work.

The last of the conference commissions is the Armaments Commission. Here again there will be a great fight between the public and private interests. There is likely to be agreement on only one point—that Germany must be disarmed; that has been done anyhow under the military occupation.

American and British aircraft companies seem equally determined to keep out any government control so that they may compete with each other after the war is over. That being so, it will be very difficult to build up an International Police Force. President Benes and other Europeans who followed the long and depressing discussions on disarmament in Geneva between the two world wars have, I believe, prepared a very complete plan for an International Air Police which would both disarm Germany and discourage any aggressor in the future. The document is confidential for the moment, but Slavik, who has been working on it, considers that the whole conference will turn upon its acceptance. Frankly, I don't believe the present British government will accept more than the part that deals with the unilateral disarmament of Germany.

*September 22.* Great argument still going on as to whether the conference should sit in secret. Eden and Richard Law arguing in favor of publicity, the former because he remembers the extent to which the vain attempts to keep things secret in Geneva gave a wonderful opportunity to every delegate with an ax to grind, and the latter because he remembers the fiasco of the exclusion of the press from the Food Conference at Hot Springs sometime in 1943. The President, on the other hand, is said to be opposed because he wants as little material as possible to be available to the isolationist papers.

Their wrecking tactics are appalling. In particular, their virulent attacks on the Russians are having a very bad effect. Already Mr. Molotov has made an official protest to the State Department and was apparently entirely unconvinced when Mr. Hull emphasized that the Administration had no influence over the newspapers. His reminder that the President himself was the object of constant and merciless criticism brought such a reply from Molotov about the irresponsibilities of the democratic system that the two men separated on the worst

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# HOW WELL ARE

## *Is There Something You Could Have Done to Save Millions of Innocent People—Men, Women, and Children—from Torture and Death?*

### Nazi Massacre of Kiev's Jews Told by Witness

**Victims Stripped, Lined Up at a Gulley, Shot; Babies Merely Thrown in Alive**

*(By United Press)*

German troops massacred Kiev's Jews during the first days of the Nazi occupation of the now-liberated Ukraine capital, robbing them of their clothes and jewelry and lining them up naked at the edge of a gulley, where they were shot, the Russian Tass News Agency reported yesterday.

Tass quoted an eyewitness story written for the Moscow newspaper, "Izvestia" by Dmitri Orlov, a resident of Kiev.

"Several days after the Germans entered Kiev (on Sept. 20, 1941) I went to Lvovskaya Street. An incessant procession of people was streaming through it, and both sidewalks were lined with German patrols. . . . The Germans were driving the Jews to Babyi Yar gulley, beyond the city.

"I also stealthily made my way to that place. I was able to stand the sight of what I saw there only for ten minutes, and after that everything went black before my eyes.

"The Germans forced the people to undress, and then methodically gathered their clothes and loaded them on trucks. In separate trucks they put underwear.

"Then they tore from the naked people—there were men and women among them—rings and watches, if they had any, and ranged them up, shivering from the cold or from mortal terror, at the edge of the gulley and shot them.

"The Germans did not waste any bullets on little children, but simply hurled them alive into the gulley.

"Those who were waiting their turn stood silently. Some sang or even laughed. I could see that those who laughed were already insane.

"And this thing lasted three days. All those whom the Germans had not, as yet, driven to their death knew what was in store for them. The old men put on mourning clothes and gathered in their homes for prayer. Then they went to Lvovskaya Street. The invalids were supported by others, and some were even carried. And all of them were killed."

With the irresistible advance of the heroic Russian armies, regaining their native soil, the monstrous treatment the Germans mete out to Jews receives new confirmation. Stories of horror which must shake the conscience of humanity—if civilization is to survive—are being published by eyewitnesses. One of these horror stories is reproduced on this page. Have courage and read it!

*Perhaps you will recoil. It may disturb your sleep at night. But it may also fill you with anger, with zeal to do something to stop such atrocities, to rescue the Jews who survive.*

Not because they were Poles or Dutchmen, not because they were peasants or officers—just because, and only because, they were Jews, more than two million men, women and children have been deliberately murdered by the Germans.

The Jews of Europe have suffered more fatalities from atrocities than all the European Nations combined. In the face of such a tragedy it is folly, indeed it is sinful, to debate whether Jews are a religion, a nation, or a race—to insist on calling them "refugees"—and thus to remain passive to their disastrous plight, ignoring it and surrounding it with silence.

*They are a specific group of human beings whom our common enemy has publicly threatened to exterminate entirely. This Committee believes it is an inescapable duty of all Americans to actively oppose Hitler in this respect also, and to do all that is humanly possible to save the four million Jews who are still alive in Europe.*

### These Four Million Can Be Saved!

Experts agree on that. Sweden and Denmark have just proved it by saving six thousand Jews in a few days.

*They are safe for only one reason: the doors of a neighboring country were unlocked.*

And because of *that* fact, the escaping Jews found the resources and energy to reach these doors of safety. What Sweden did so simply, so humanely, other nations are being urged to do, *must* do if their consciences are to be clear for the peace to come!

*Read what this committee has already accomplished, what its further plans are.*

### Our Program of Action!

AT THE EMERGENCY CONFERENCE HELD IN NEW YORK ON JULY 20-25, 1943, EXPERTS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES FORMULATED A PROGRAM OF EFFECTIVE ACTION THAT CAN AND MUST BE TAKEN NOW TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE. THEY URGED THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO ADOPT A PLAN EMBRACING THE FOLLOWING OUTSTANDING MEASURES:

1. To create a Governmental Agency specifically charged with the task of saving the Jewish people of Europe.

2. To seek guarantees from the Axis-satellite countries, through the International Red Cross, neutral countries, or the Vatican, to insure Jews the same treatment given to other nationals.

3. To relieve the starvation and disease which are decimating the Jewish people in Axis-held territory.

4. To insist that the Axis-satellite countries, which now seek to gain the good will of the victorious Allies, withhold their Jews from Hitler's slaughterhouses and permit them to leave their borders.

5. To urge neutral countries—Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey—to grant the Jewish people temporary asylum.

6. To request neutral countries to grant transit facilities to all Jewish people passing from Axis-controlled lands to any United Nations territory, regardless of whether the persons involved be refugees, immigrants, or repatriates.

7. To obtain from the Governments of the United Nations temporary asylum with the understanding that after the war these refugees will be removed from their territories if they are not wanted.

8. To insist that Great Britain, pending this tragic emergency, open the doors of Palestine, where 600,000 Jews have expressed their desire to share their homes and food with their suffering brothers, thus putting an end to the discriminatory immigration laws that exclude only Jews from their own country.

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# YOU SLEEPING?

## THIS COMMITTEE CAME INTO EXISTENCE TO ACHIEVE THE RESCUE OF THE JEWS OF EUROPE

### Here Is Part of Its Record

Our offices and representatives in Washington and in London, in Palestine and in Turkey, are urging the respective governments to undertake large-scale action to save the four million Jews in Europe's death trap.

We brought the problem of the Jewish disaster to the masses of American people by nation-wide advertising in the leading newspapers in this country and through national radio-broadcasts, as well as through books, periodicals, and leaflets.

We organized mass expressions of public opinion demanding immediate action, through a mass petition movement, mass rallies and dramatic pageants.

We organized the pilgrimage of five hundred Rabbis to Washington.

We requested and obtained the week of compassion and prayer by six thousand Christian Churches.

We initiated the movement to pay tribute to Sweden and Denmark.

We organized the protest against the omission of the Jewish disasters from the Moscow statement on atrocities.

Now, we are able to state with satisfaction that the President, at his press conference on November 6, and Secretary Hull, in his historic appearance before the joint session of Congress, specifically mentioned their concern with the Jewish tragedy. The ring of silence around the catastrophe of the Jewish people was broken.

More than that. In all our activities, we put forward as the first and most immediate demand, the creation of a specific Governmental Agency with the task to effectuate the rescue of the millions of Jewish people still alive in Europe.

## Now a Bipartisan Resolution Has Been Introduced in the Senate and House Demanding the Creation of Such an Agency

**This resolution recommends to the President: ". . . The creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany."**

This resolution was introduced by leaders of both Parties: in the Senate by Senator Guy M. Gillette and eleven of his colleagues; in the House by Congressmen Will Rogers, Jr. (D.) of California, and Joseph Clark Baldwin (R.) of New York.

The hearings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House have opened. We hope that hearings of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee will begin soon. Prominent men from all walks of American life are testifying, urging this resolution's passage. Wendell Willkie declared this resolution of *"paramount importance. The urgency of the situation demands immediate action. The bill deserves the wholehearted support of every American."*

### You Can Do Your Part, Too!

Wire or write to your Senator and Cogressman. Write also to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. Demand their cooperation!

You can do your part, too, to carry out our tremendous plan of activities. You can help us mobilize public opinion from coast to coast. You can help us keep alive our headquarters in Washington, London, Palestine, and Turkey to continue our work for a people in deepest agony and despair. For each day dooms thousands that can be saved. *This is strictly a race against death!*

This Committee is asking the American people for substantial financial support with which it will be enabled to carry on its work for the rescue of the Four Million martyred Jews in Europe.

We need your financial help *immediately*—NOW! You can sign your name below and enclose your contribution to speed the effectiveness of our work to save the Jewish people of Europe. Whatever you give is evidence of *your* conviction that human life is worth saving!


## Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

ONE EAST FORTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 2-7237



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[By a ruling of the Treasury Department contributions to this Committee are tax exempt]

Emergency Committee
to Save the Jewish People of Europe
1 East 44th St., New York 17, N. Y.

I hereby join your efforts to obtain immediate United Nations action to save the Jewish people of Europe. I enclose my contribution to enable you to carry out this tremendous task in the sum of $.....

*Please make checks payable to*
*Mrs. JOHN GUNTHER, Treas.*

NAME.....

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.....


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of terms. Edgar Ansell Mowrer is convinced that this incident, small in itself, might be decisive in Moscow, where Stalin is said to be making up his mind whether or not to come into the war against Japan.

*September 23.* Conference overshadowed by the news from Burma. The British attack on Rangoon and Akyab has failed. I once flew over the territoy from Akyab to Bangkok—mountains rising to upward of 12,000 feet covered with thick jungle and populated by pigmies with blowpipes and poison darts. Since that flight I have always doubted whether we could reconquer Burma except at the cost of very extravagant losses. In no other terrain is mechanized warfare more handicapped. The most serious part of the Burma defeat is the unanimity with which the American correspondents state that the British fought half-heartedly. Some of them are reported as saying that they had no interest in winning back territory that wasn't theirs anyway and that they didn't see why they couldn't go home now that the war against Germany was over. A *Herald Tribune* editorial states quite bluntly that Americans have too often accused the British of an imperialism which, in fact, had ceased to inspire them even before the First World War. Partly for that reason Great Britain had become almost ashamed of its empire, and the men of its younger generation were in no mood to defend it.

Talked to G. about this, since he has had much military experience in India and Burma during this war. He is furious that the G. O. C., yielding to pressure from Whitehall or Washington, should have attacked at a time when the desire to get home was inevitably first in the soldier's mind. He claims that nothing has been done to give the ordinary soldier or airman "a general political picture" of the war. Especially just after the defeat of the Germans a course of political training was needed before we carried out an attack outside Europe.

*September 30.* Ribbentrop has died in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. The last thing I heard of him was a typical example of his stupid arrogance. Each Allied government has been asked to submit its list of war criminals, and if the conference agrees, these are to be handed over to the respective governments to be tried by courts martial. Ribbentrop is, of course, on every single list, and topped only by Himmler—Hitler being dead before the lists were sent in to the conference secretariat. His perverted vanity is such that he has been boasting in camp because he is considered a greater criminal than Goebbels, Streicher, Ley, and the others.

Now Freddie Kuh has come along with the story that Ribbentrop was deliberately murdered by other Nazis at Sachsenhausen who considered him a traitor. They were presumably less angered by his readiness to compromise with the Allies—many of them would do that in order to save some remnants of their system—than by his denial of the Nazi faith. It's rather confusing, and I'm not sure in my own mind that Ribbentrop ought not to have been made the puppet head of Germany and compelled to sign the provisional peace, and then dealt with, in due course, as one of the worst of the war criminals. Otherwise, as at Versailles, the signature may be that of some relatively progressive and democratic German who will also be signing his own political death-warrant. The men who started the war will again escape the odium of admitting defeat.

# *In the Wind*

SWEET CHARITY: The Treasury's objection that a sales tax would fall most heavily on low incomes puzzles Dr. Harley L. Lutz, professor of public finance at Princeton. The "small-income group," he writes in the *Tax Review,* is "so vague as to size and location as to be almost an abstract statistical concept. . . . If an adjustment of some sort be necessary on the basis of need, by all means let it be made. But it should be confined to those who need it, and determination of the cases should be a responsibility of the local welfare departments."

THE REVEREND GEORGE W. COOKE of Rochester, New York, makes this objection to John Roy Carlson's "Under Cover" in a letter to the Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle:* "Has it come to the place in this country where, unless we accept the philosophy of Marxian atheism, the 'New Deal,' and other social 'crackpot' ideas, that we are compelled to hold our speech?"

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST has instructed all his editors not to review or otherwise mention the movie "North Star," but to accept advertisements of it nevertheless.

SPECIAL FOR WAR WORKERS! From an advertisement in the New York *Times:* "The Antoine Hour. In the privacy of a studio. Antoine will study your features and personality . . . he will give consultation lessons to his clients . . . he will create individual coiffures from the most informal to the most glamorous . . . he will make an exciting, drastic change in your looks and personality. Appointment by letter only. $50 an hour."

*FESTUNG EUROPA:* The average life expectancy of workers condemned to forced labor is six months. . . . The manager of an Oslo insurance firm was surprised to learn recently that a local Nazi official had been put on his pay roll as personnel director at a salary of 11,000 kroner a year. Previously the work had been done by a girl for 2,000 kroner. . . . Bird life in Holland is threatened with extinction. Hungry people have been stealing their eggs.

*[The $5 prize for the best item received in November goes to Joseph Kaufman of Lynn, Massachusetts, for the story of the suppression of his newspaper column. The item appeared in the issue of November 20.]*

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POLITICAL WAR EDITED BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

# The Breakdown of Vichy

BY JULES MOCH

*[Jules Moch was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies as a Socialist in 1928 and later held important posts in the two Blum governments. He was one of the eighty deputies who voted against Pétain and capitulation. Arrested shortly after the armistice, he was kept in prison until the end of 1941. After his release he took an active part in the resistance movement until last February, when he was forced to flee the country. He then went to London and is now a commander in the Fighting French navy.]*

THE fall of 1943 finds the mood of the French people one of increasing hostility toward Vichy. The so-called "New Order" is disintegrating. Some of its most faithful servants are looking about for excuses to sever their connection with it. Various measures ordered by Laval or imposed by Hitler explain the acceleration of the break-up.

The law drafting Frenchmen for compulsory labor in Germany has aroused universal anger. Hundreds of thousands of young men have taken to the woods in defiance of the mobilization order. Families which rallied to the old Marshal because they hated communism or feared a new Popular Front have made a complete volte-face now that their younger members face the danger of being shipped to the Reich. An official Vichy document gives the quotas set for certain cities between May 8 and 21, 1943, and the number that could be rounded up for deportation:

| | *Number Called* | *Number Sent* | *Percentage Sent* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aurillac (Cantal) | 66 | 26 | 39 |
| Beziers (Herault) | 101 | 11 | 11 |
| Carcassonne (Aude) | 89 | 67 | 75 |
| Le Puy (Haute Loire) | 78 | 35 | 45 |
| Macon (Saône et Loire) | 349 | 7 | 2 |
| Montlucon (Allier) | 108 | 45 | 41 |
| Narbonne (Aude) | 50 | 34 | 68 |
| Nîmes (Gard) | 450 | 28 | 6 |
| Toulon (Var) | 200 | 4 | 2 |
| Valence (Drome) | 109 | 3 | 3 |
| | 1600 | 260 | 16 |

The rural population has complied no more willingly with the decree requiring men to do guard duty along railroad rights of way to combat the systematic sabotage of German supply lines. Farm owners are particularly irked by the order as the number of agricultural workers held as prisoners of war in Germany has created an acute labor shortage.

An idea of the extent of the sabotage is gained from a report recently received from France listing 336 operations carried out by underground organizations between April 15 and June 1, 1943, against the occupation and its allies. The operations, which were of course but a fraction of the total number of acts of sabotage committed in the whole country during the same period, were classified as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Derailment of trains and destruction of rolling stock | 96 |
| Destruction of telegraph and telephone lines | 66 |
| Stoppages in factories due to explosions or sabotage | 33 |
| Destruction of trucks and garages | 10 |
| Canals and locks put out of operation | 3 |
| Destruction of model airplanes | 2 |
| Destruction of windows in government buildings and homes of collaborators | 23 |
| Bombs in establishments occupied by the enemy | 18 |
| Seizure of gasoline, enemy food stocks, and ration tickets | 19 |
| Liberation of prisoners by force | 1 |
| Assassination of policemen | 6 |
| Execution of traitors | 12 |
| Attacks on enemy units | 40 |
| Miscellaneous operations | 7 |

The tax on metals is extremely unpopular because the French people regard it as a means of building up metal stocks for the German war effort. Complaints about the food scarcity are mounting as underfed children succumb to disease. (The German army of occupation is still disposing of the lion's share of food. Mediterranean cities report that thousands of tons of oranges are unloaded from Spanish boats directly into German trucks; not a single orange is left for the French.)

The militia created by Laval to counterbalance Doriot's gangsters and to support his regime "meets continuous hostility from the people," according to an official Vichy report. "The occupation forces," according to another Vichy document, "are imposing more and more severe restrictions; their arbitrary actions and mass arrests have aroused growing enmity."

Each social class has reacted in its own way to post-armistice conditions and made its own contribution to the evolution of this mood. At first the industrialists had a different attitude from the merchants, who were hard hit from the beginning. The big business men believed

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in collaboration and began to figure out ways of profiting from it, though often, to rationalize their position, they said they favored collaboration only in order to help the hundreds of workers in their factories. Soon, however, the more intelligent of them realized that any hope for profit was illusory owing to the lack of raw materials, the disorganization of transportation, and the widespread corruption of the Nazis. Later the transfer of French technicians to Germany and the huge drafts of man-power almost drove them out of business. Many of them then became as anti-Nazi as their workers.

The middle bourgeoisie, whose influence has been compromised by political failure and the rise to power of a "mafia" of new men, hopes for the collapse of the government and is undermining whatever authority Vichy still has. It sulks and criticizes and contributes in some degree to the underground resistance.

Career officers, dismissed from service when the army was dissolved in November, 1942, after having served the Marshal for two years, now dream of revenge. Reactionary as a group, they at first accepted the defeat which rid them of the Republic, and denounced the "treason" of De Gaulle. Many of them were rallied to the Allied cause in November, 1942, when Darlan and Giraud placed their movement under the banner of the Marshal. Those who are still in France are now openly hostile to the politics of collaboration, which deprived them of professional employment. Many have joined the resistance movement and through their new contacts gained a new political perspective.

The majority of the clergy took a decided stand against collaboration after the passage of the anti-Semitic laws and particularly after the deportation of Jews. Several bishops made truly noble protests against these acts. Many religious establishments offer asylum to Socialists and Communists who are being hunted by the Laval-Hitler police. If some priests still defend the "New Order" as the protector of the church, most of them believe that such support compromises the Catholic cause and fear that after liberation it will result in a fierce wave of anti-clericalism. The resistance of Catholics to Vichy has sealed their union with the Republicans who form a majority of the population. This entente holds great promise for the reconstitution of the Republic.

With the exception of the municipal officials, some police officers, and the bureau chiefs in government ministries, the civil-service employees have not been purged, probably because there were no competent men to replace them. Teachers and postal workers are keeping very quiet to avoid dismissal, but they retain their left views and hope for an Allied victory. A large number of them are working in our secret organizations.

Even the police force—or rather the police forces, for Vichy has created a dozen new special departments—has become infected. Many young men have entered it in order to escape service in Germany. "Eighty per cent of its effectives," wrote a high Vichy official, "are Gaullist and reveal their sentiments without the slightest embarrassment. They rejoice in the possession of weapons which will enable them to do good work when the great day comes." When I was in prison with other members of the Blum government in 1940-41, I found that many of our jailers were in sympathy with us. And if I avoided arrest on several occasions after my release from prison, it was because policemen affiliated with our organizations warned me in time.

The French peasants, knowing that they owe their lands to the Revolution, are solidly Republican. In their view the Marshal is trying to wipe out 150 years of history; he is a "Coblentz émigré of 1792." They are also intensely nationalistic, and the occupation of French soil has fanned their old hatred of Germans. The countryman clings to his liberties and dislikes laws which oblige him to declare how many acres he has under cultivation, how many bushels of wheat or gallons of wine he has produced, how many chickens he owns and how many eggs they lay. Vichy's regimentation has made him an enemy of the New Order even though he suffers less than city dwellers under rationing and can often sell his produce at a comfortable profit on the black market. Moreover, it is easier to listen to British broadcasts in isolated farmhouses than in the city. In one mountain village which I visited to see a comrade who was in hiding I found that 106 of the 136 homes had radios, and that of these 106 families 102 listened to the Free French and B. B. C. broadcasts every evening. Peasants are the more ardently Gaullist because Vichy has not obtained the freedom of the war prisoners, whose absence handicaps the rural economy severely.

The workers to a man are on the side of the resistance forces. Vanguard Republicans all, they have been the principal victims of Vichy and Berlin—hunted down for their opinions, imprisoned, deported. As their wages have not risen in proportion to the increased cost of living, they cannot even obtain the necessities of life. It is not surprising therefore that since 1940 they have been active in the underground organizations and that the victories of the Red Army arouse equal enthusiasm among Communists and non-Communists. The worker believes that the failure of his hopes for social change in 1919 made possible the Second World War. He does not intend to make the same mistake twice. Militantly Gaullist as he is, he is also ardently revolutionary.

Thus aside from a small group profiting from the occupation—the several hundred ministers, high functionaries, police officers, and prefects risen from nowhere, and the several thousand mercenaries of Déats, Doriot's, and Laval's fascist bands—no one in France defends collaboration any longer, or even Pétain himself. The price of French resistance has been thou-

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sands of executions, hundreds of thousands of internments and imprisonments, and 750,000 deportations to Germany. Nevertheless, it continues to flourish, sounding its battle cry in underground newspapers which thousands of young men distribute throughout the country at the risk of their liberty and even their lives.

In one of these heroic bulletins, No. 34 of *Défense de la France*, dated June 20, 1943, the fighters on the home front of France wrote: "Born of the Fighting French and the resistance, the greatness of France will live again in the world. We want France to become, more than ever before, the land of great men, of bold individuals whose personalities transform the world, the land of saints, of scientists, and of philosophers, of heroes, colonizers, and martyrs. France's greatness is to conquer men rather than territory; to make men equal to great ideas and great causes; to nourish men who will bring humanity more light and more love. It is to convince the world that the true greatness is that of the spirit."

This is what the Free French, in their prison-country, are saying to the world, and by their words they are reviving the tradition of the immortal France of 1789.

# *Behind the Enemy Line*

BY ARGUS

ON NOVEMBER 13 Goebbels returned to a subject which for some weeks he had left alone. In his weekly article he again advised the English to make peace with Germany, pointing out to them in great detail that their true enemies were the Russians and the Americans.

> The British Empire is fighting today in alliance with partners who wish to succeed it against an enemy whose interests lie in regions which have no vital importance for England. Where are the traditional farsightedness and clarity of English foreign politics? . . . England need only recall the magnanimous offers which the Führer made again and again to London before the outbreak of this world conflagration to see clearly what a mistaken policy it was to refuse all those offers. Perhaps the English people will consider the question more soberly when the fifth winter of war begins.

He added:

> We know that a hue and cry will be raised in London because we broach this matter so openly. But Germany, in the fifth year of war, stands so firm that it can afford to speak out.

Now neither in London nor elsewhere has any hue and cry been raised. Indeed, not the slightest notice has been taken of Goebbels's effort. Yet what a commotion would have been caused if this almost humble appeal to England's "traditional farsightedness and clarity" had been made two years ago! The world's newspapers would have been full of it for weeks. The present lack of response is another illustration of the fact that what we may call the German propaganda potential is exhausted. With the wind of success in its sails Berlin could set the world by its ears with the stupidest stuff. Under present circumstances Goebbels's sly peace offer didn't rate a couple of lines in the newspapers.

The Nazi propaganda potential is almost as completely played out at home as it is abroad. "No official communiqué, report, explanation, or exhortation can now pierce the people's apathy," declared the *Journal de Genève* on October 27. And in the Lausanne *Gazette* of the same date a Swiss recently returned from Germany reported that propaganda had no effect any more on the German people, "for the simple reason that they are no longer interested in official utterances."

> If you go into a cafe [he said] you will sometimes see a queue waiting for the daily allotment of cakes made of potato flour and *Ersatz* cream or on the chance that some ice cream made with saccharine will be obtainable, but no one waits for the news broadcasts or a newspaper. The last time Hitler spoke, after a long silence and at a particularly critical moment, more people probably listened to him in the outside world than in Germany. At the announced hour in Berlin I saw thousands of people crowding into suburban trains to escape a possible air raid and hundreds of others standing in line outside the Gloria Palace cinema on the Kurfürstendamm. In the enormous Cafe Trumpf next door only seven guests and the orchestra heard the Führer's harangue.

The estimate of a Swedish correspondent that at least a hundred persons a day are now executed in Germany seems somewhat too conservative. In general only the local papers record the executions. If one could look through them all every day, one would undoubtedly arrive at a higher figure. In most cases routine reasons are given: "spreading rumors," "listening to the enemy radio," "undermining morale" are the most frequent, though often the crime is some act connected with rationing. Thus a rationing official in Stuttgart and two shopkeepers were executed because they had embezzled a total of 900,000 ration points; a post-office employee in Düsseldorf because he had stolen packages containing tobacco. Occasionally the reasons vary from this norm. Three persons from a village near Brunswick were beheaded "for having been insolent to a bombed-out family." On November 4 announcement was made of the execution in a small town near Bielefeld of two married couples described rightly or wrongly as Communists. They had been sentenced to death for "committing high treason by holding illegal meetings and giving instruction courses." This was the first official admission that there is not only individual opposition in Germany but an attempt to form cells of resistance.

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# BOOKS *and the* ARTS

## Revolution and Neurosis

LIKE "Darkness at Noon," Arthur Koestler's new novel, "Arrival and Departure" (Macmillan, $2), is essentially a novel for intellectuals, for that section of society for whom the rise and decline of the radical movement, in its broadest aspects, is perhaps the prime fact of the last decades. I do not mean that it lacks dramatic interest, or that it is particularly difficult to read. I mean, simply, that its drama is largely philosophical and that its suspense is more a matter of wondering where the theoretical cat will finally land when it stops jumping than of concern for the human fate of its hero; this may not diminish its fascination and, given the emptiness of current fiction, may even mark it as something of a literary event, but it does deprive it of the emotional overtones and wider references of the very best novels. Even the fact that Mr. Koestler deals with psychoanalysis and devotes a large part of his novel to the description of a case of hysterical paralysis, while it may increase the popular appeal of his book, does so as it were under false pretenses. For psychoanalysis is only the new armor in which Mr. Koestler has chosen to dress science for its old battle against faith.

Faith wins, but the manner in which Mr. Koestler conducts the fight—and by my reading of the book "Arrival and Departure" is more fight than novel, however disarmed and disarming its author may appear to be—is as tricky and unconvincing as it is brilliant. Mr. Koestler is investigating the problem of the relation between neurosis and conduct, specifically the relation between unconscious guilt feelings and the radical impulse. He tells the story of Peter Slavek, a middle-class intellectual and dissident Communist who has suffered terrible physical tortures in his service to the radical cause. The European war has begun, and Peter has escaped from his own (unnamed) country to Lisbon (also unnamed), where he intends to join the British forces. While he waits in Lisbon for his papers, he has a brief love affair with a girl, Odette, who is awaiting passage to America. Peter, too, is offered the possibility of escape to America, and respite from the old struggle. But his devotion to the political cause for which he has suffered so much is in such conflict with the desire to follow love and find peace that, not knowing which way to move, he "resolves" his conflict by becoming paralyzed in one of his tortured legs. It happens that a family friend, Dr. Sonia Bolgar, a psychoanalyst, is in Lisbon, and she cures Peter of his paralysis by uncovering the childhood roots of his need for martrydom and showing him that his devotion to the cause of the weak springs from guilt at having "accidentally" killed the younger brother of whom he was jealous. Having regained his health, Peter is now free to seek personal freedom and follow Odette to America. But at the last moment he rejects this escape and refuses to join Odette; instead, just as he had originally planned, he goes off to fight against fascism with the British.

Now at first glance—and accepting the identification of revolutionary activity with anti-fascist activity as an expedient, literary or political, which for present purposes we need not pause over—what Mr. Koestler seems to be saying is that a revolutionary can be psychoanalyzed and still continue to be a revolutionary—a very proper and useful thing to say. For "revolutionary" we might even substitute "painter" or "priest" or "mathematician," and I daresay that psychoanalysis itself would be the first to thank Mr. Koestler for exempting it from the wearisome accusation that it destroys or invalidates the volitional nature of human activity. But then what shall we make of Mr. Koestler's fable of Pythagoras, which is intended to remind us that if Pythagoras had been analyzed and shown that his interest in triangles was an obsession with his wife's fidelity, he would never have discovered the Pythagorean proposition? No synopsis can indicate it, but actually what Mr. Koestler is saying all along the line is quite the opposite of what the general movement of his book promises. His hero, for instance, is not a political idealist who also happens to be a neurotic; he is a neurotic whose guilts are clearly shown to be the whole source of his political ardor. Yet when these guilts are presumably removed, Peter continues to function according to his old political pattern, and not, apparently, on any new basis. The only difference between "his first crusade, which had ended with his breakdown on Sonia's couch," and the second, on which he departs at the close of the novel, is that "the first time he had set out in ignorance of his reasons; this time he knew them, but understood that reasons do not matter so much." In other words, Mr. Koestler, at some pains to recognize neurosis and grant psychoanalysis its healing powers, ends up by saying, *not* that Peter, cured of his neurosis, is free to act unneurotically, but that Peter, with the knowledge that he is neurotic safely under his belt, is free to continue to act neurotically; and this is tantamount to saying that, at least in political conduct, it makes no difference whether or not our motives are neurotic. Or, to put it another way, while Mr. Koestler seems to give determination and volition each its due place in human activity, actually he refuses to make any distinction in value between determined conduct and volitional conduct —which is surely an unfruitful attitude in a novelist.

But the point is, of course, as I have said, that Mr. Koestler, for all his impressive talents as a novelist, is writing not as a novelist but as a polemicist. His book is an elaborate structure of argument fashioned to support the foregone—mistaken—conclusion that psychoanalysis is at odds with revolutionary activity. To the revolutionary mind, even at its most dissident, Freud persists as the arch-enemy, and Mr. Koestler's method of combat is first to take the enemy into camp and then help him commit suicide. Nor is his true antipathy to psychoanalysis disclosed only in the broad errors of argument which I have suggested: while appearing to be utterly fair to the analytical side, in detail after detail he does his best to prejudice the reader against it.

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Thus, though he grants Dr. Bolgar the ability to cure Peter of his gross paralytic symptoms, he also shows her as a person with "roots in the air" and no social principles—quite as if rootlessness were a prescribed psychoanalytical position—and he also makes her a nymphomaniac Lesbian! Or the only other patient of Dr. Bolgar, besides Peter, to whom we are introduced is a Nazi whom she has "adjusted" to Nazism. One cannot help wondering why, if analysis is as little a threat to the revolutionary impulse as in theory Mr. Koestler maintains, he is at such extremes to discredit it.

And I suppose that with this much unease and sophistry behind us, we should have been prepared for the contrived and desperate mystical note on which Mr. Koestler concludes his novel. Having given us "scientific" proof that it is all right to be a radical, Mr. Koestler finds it necessary to reject the science which, he believes, questions this right in favor of an imperative taken from religion. "Arrival and Departure" ends on a statement of faith—a poor little bastard-of-pragmatism kind of faith, but evidently enough to support action. "If one accepted a faith, one should not ask because of what—the 'because of' should be taken for granted, beyond questioning. He who says 'because of' will be open to disillusion. He has no firm ground under his feet. But he who accepts in spite of his objections, in spite of the imperfections which are manifest to him—he will be secure." It is in these weak but willing words that Peter Slavek sums up what we must take to be Mr. Koestler's position as he continues in the political struggle.

I know no novel of recent years so interesting in theme as "Arrival and Departure." To be sure, its intellectual preoccupation limits its range as a novel; and the movement and conclusion of its argument give us much to quarrel with. But these objections cannot constitute a whole judgment of a book which leads us to such high controversial ground and offers so courageous a challenge.

DIANA TRILLING

# Mr. Matthews on Fascism

*THE FRUITS OF FASCISM.* By Herbert L. Matthews. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

WHEN the United States entered this war, Herbert L. Matthews, who from 1939 on had been the New York *Times* correspondent in Rome, was interned for five months by that same Benito who in better times had bestowed upon him the cross of a Knight of the Italian Crown. Rumor has it that in the leisure of his internment Mr. Matthews read Gibbon's famous history, and felt a commendable desire to become the Gibbon of Mussolini's Decline and Fall: that is, to sum up his long experience of Fascism, this time not as a reporter but as a historian. The result might have been provocative, coming as it does from a sincere and repentant sinner who, by his own admission, had been "an enthusiastic admirer of Fascism once."

"The Fruits of Fascism" is "a book with a premise, an argument, and a conclusion. The premise is that Fascism is an impractical and evil way of life; the argument is twenty-three years of Fascist history; the conclusion is that Fascism has failed." Apart from the complaint Aristotle might have against Mr. Matthews's syllogism, the reader will soon notice that the substance of the book is really summed up by the author on page 164: "While Italian genius could work out the system of Fascism, it could not carry it through in practice." The fact is that Mr. Matthews reassembles the materials he gathered in his years of sin, and that, though he is now as much of an anti-Fascist as any of us, he still clings to what may be termed the Badoglio interpretation of Italian history. For such converts Fascism is still a commendable domestic experiment, to which, inexplicably enough, a crazy foreign policy was added *after* the Ethiopian campaign. "The tragedy for Italy was that she needed long years of peace to conclude such programs, and the Duce's foreign policy inevitably tended toward war." But where Mr. Matthews's first studies in Fascism ended in praise, this one records a series of disappointments. It is not that the author finds much more to blame in Fascism now than he did years ago; it is just that the sum comes out differently. The fault lies not so much with the experiment as with the experimenters.

As to Il Duce, he too has failed, it is true, but his greatness can hardly be denied. He was a "modern Icarus" with "no streak of cowardice"; he "hates oratory"; he stands comparison with Augustus, Napoleon, and the libertarian tribune of fourteenth-century Rome, Cola di Rienzi. (It must be true that a hero is sung by the bard he deserves. Cola di Rienzi had Petrarch, Napoleon had Stendhal, and Mussolini has—Marinetti.)

The epigraph to "The Fruits of Fascism" is borrowed from Gibbon: "An enlightened age requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism." What puzzles me is how, having taken Gibbon's adjuration for his own, Mr. Matthews could write a full-length "history" of Fascism without quoting one anti-Fascist work. Salvemini's very name—let alone his books—is utterly ignored. So are Rosenstock-Franck's important studies of the corporate state, Daniel Guérin's solid analysis of Fascist economy, A. Rossi's critical account of the rise of Fascism, etc. The source most often listed in the index is G. A. Chiurco's five-volume "History of the Fascist Revolution"—a half-literate storm trooper's super-official account. (Its publisher once proudly boasted to me that not one copy of the book had ever been sold to a private purchaser.) Anti-Fascist journals of the last two decades—*Stato Operaio, Giustizia e Libertà,* among others—a knowledge of which is simply indispensable to the historian of Fascism, are never mentioned.

Is it any wonder, then, that Mr. Matthews solemnly absolves Mussolini of the accusation of having founded *Il Popolo d'Italia* with French money; that his account of the Matteotti murder is cautious and confused ("Mussolini . . . had apparently not been consulted"); that misspellings are not infrequent; that he calls "an aristocrat, a lawyer, a poet . . ., the finest type of Fascist" Minister de Vecchi, an irresponsible moron whose brutalities in the golden years of castor oil used to disgust even his accomplices, and who once, as governor of Rhodes, ordered all the roses of the island to be cut, because "roses are un-Fascist and effeminate."

"The Fruits of Fascism," sincerely meant as the author's warning to America, is really one more example of how

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fruitless a complete innocence of socialist thought can be in dealing with contemporary events. "No apologies will ever be made by me for my love of the Italian people," declares Mr. Matthews obligingly. I believe that he does like the Italian people. I am not sure that he respects them. I cannot forget that when General Clark's army entered Naples, Mr. Matthews, reporting in the *Times*, found the starving Neapolitans' delirious reception "to say the least, not very dignified." Today he might have to apologize to the guerrillas of Lombardy and Piedmont for having written that "there is no man in the world less revolutionary than the Italian of today." He may have to bow to the Roman, too ("the Roman, indifferent, blasé, cynical, goes his way through the years and the centuries"), for on entering the Eternal City with the Fifth Army he will see and hear about the twelve-day struggle of the workers of the Trastevere district against Nazi tanks and machine-guns.

PAOLO MILANO

## Coal-Diggers

*MEN AND COAL.* By McAlister Coleman. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

THE coal miners have struck four times this year; each time they were impervious to President Roosevelt's back-to-work pleas, each time they awaited a signal from John L. Lewis. I drove through several mining towns in western Pennsylvania on the morning that Mr. Roosevelt had designated for resumption of work during the first walkout. At 10 a.m.—the White House deadline—the newspapers and milk bottles were lying untouched on the porches; the editorial pages quivered with futile rage; the miners were using this historic hour to catch up on their sleep. "Mac" Coleman's book is a warm, colorful account of how American miners got into that mood—a mood in which they frankly told the commander-in-chief and the rest of the nation that they were taking orders from Lewis, nobody else. Now that the furor over the coal strikes has subsided, a great many people would profit from reading Coleman.

Most journalists have written about the coal-diggers as if there were only one and his name was Lewis. In a large section of this book Lewis is a secondary figure; the miners themselves emerge from anonymity. Coleman has talked with them, eaten with them, lived with them; he has discovered the sources of their discontent and their defiance. But this isn't a social worker's manual on backward areas. In its early and best chapters it articulates better than anything else I have read the miners' view of their own world—their sense of isolation from the rest of the country, their pride and humor, their conviction that any luxuries they extract from life will be wrested by shows of strength and solidarity. In recent months the coal operators have assumed all sorts of patriotic postures while the miners were raising hell; Coleman makes clear that much of the hell-raising can be blamed on the long, sordid era in which the coal magnates, aided by press, police, and other agencies, imposed their feudal will upon the miners. He recalls the classic retort made by one operator to charges that the miners were suffering: "They don't suffer; why, they can't even speak English."

The mines in which they work and the communities in which they live shape the outlook of the miners. Work is tough, dangerous, insecure; life is dreary and unrewarding; changes for the better have been slower and less continuous than in any other key industry. When the union was rebuilt after 1933 the miners vowed they would never let it collapse again. It was in this atmosphere that the strikes occurred. The miners read newspapers for comics and war news, not editorials; they listen to the radio for music and gags, not profound thoughts—unless Lewis or F. D. R. is on the air. They buy war bonds, send their sons to war; they strike under a traditional slogan—"No contract, no work." The government has no lines of effective communication to them. They listen to Roosevelt, but Lewis is their union president. Having been treated so long as a group apart, lacking kinship with others, they cannot be awed by "outraged public opinion." Public opinion is the miner next door.

Coleman has provided new and authentic insights into the thinking of the miners. He has also rehearsed the history of the Miners' Union and of Lewis, and some of these sections are open to much more detailed debate. Although Coleman records some of Lewis's worst follies—his dreary post-war record, his war against the progressives, the development of his ruthless machine—the portrait is on the whole sympathetic. One wishes that he had explored the U. M. W.'s last real election contest, in which honest, idealistic John Brophy contested Lewis's rule. Similarly, the petulant, savage war waged by Lewis against Philip Murray is passed over too lightly. Coleman sets forth but does not elaborate what seems to me a basic question provoked by his book: why has the United Mine Workers' union done so little to brighten the lives and enrich the environment of its members? Once upon a time, even in the dreariest coal town, the U. M. W. was a democratic, vital institution. It might have transformed whole communities. But Lewis clung rigidly to the methods of a "business unionist."

There are a lot of other questions about Lewis's early and recent conduct of the U. M. W.—and of his own affairs—which Coleman touches sparingly or disregards. But this is a good book about miners; by writing intelligently and feelingly about them Coleman has explained a good part of Lewis's strength and the government's weakness in the recent crisis.

JAMES A. WECHSLER

## The Roots of Russia

*ANCIENT RUSSIA.* By George Vernadsky. Yale University Press. $5.

THIS book ends where Russian histories usually start: the last event recounted is the seizure of Kiev by Oleg in the year 878. Professor Vernadsky believes that what he calls "the historic roots of the Russian people" extend into the Sarmato-Gothic era (200 B. C.–370 A. D.), and even into the age of the Cimmerians and Scythians (1000-200 B. C.). Accordingly, he devotes a substantial section to each of these periods. To complete the time span, there is also an admirable chapter on the prehistory of the area which the Russian empire eventually came to occupy. The Huns and the Avars, the Khazars and the Bulgars, and the other peoples which

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successively or simultaneously controlled the Eurasian plains in the middle centuries of the first millennium receive ample attention; so that it is only in the last third of the book that one comes to matters with which it might be expected to deal, such as the Varangian question, the Russian Kaganate, the distribution of the Russian tribes, the career of Riurik.

Cultural developments are not neglected, but interminable migrations and wars make up the bulk of the story. Professor Vernadsky has brought a large erudition to the telling of this involved and on the whole rather dreary tale. He is thoroughly familiar with the sources, as well as with the investigations of other scholars in the field, including the most recent research. He has all the available data at his finger tips and is able to make fresh approaches to old problems. Unfortunately, as our author is well aware, the evidence upon which the historian must rely is meager and dubious. He likens his task to that of "restoring a broken vase out of fragments of which only a few remain intact." He is compelled therefore to rely upon guesswork and, indeed, is perhaps a little too free with his conjectures, which are not always convincing. Moreover, a surmise once made is apt to reappear a little farther on in the guise of a certainty. Another flaw in the work is its lack of concentration. Although the author insists that he wanders far afield only in order to bring back spoils that will enhance his picture of Russia proper, the fact is that he tends to dwell a good deal on irrelevant matters, with the result that the scene is cluttered rather than illumined. Nevertheless, here is a valuable introduction to an obscure and difficult subject.

The present volume is the initial contribution to a history of Russia conceived on a grand scale. There are nine volumes to follow, the first five to be written by the author of the work under review, and the remainder by Professor Karpovich of Harvard. The progress of so ambitious and important an undertaking will be watched with keen interest.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

## DRAMA

"WINGED VICTORY" (Forty-fourth Street Theater) is both a pageant and a play. The script was commissioned by the army, which gave Moss Hart every facility for research and observation, including the use of an army bomber. Mr. Hart studied hard, flying 28,000 miles in the process, and then wrote his play—in six weeks. This is all very efficient, and Mr. Hart's exposition of an airman's education is undoubtedly authentic. But the process of education, even that of a flier, is not in itself dramatic. To offset this difficulty Mr. Hart raises six men from as many family backgrounds into sufficient relief to provide a story and individual interest. He also introduces their wives and sweethearts, and he pulls out all the emotional stops in a long tale that begins in a back yard in Ohio and ends on an island in the South Pacific.

Inevitably the piece has an official, well-filtered air. It also exudes a sheltered collegiate atmosphere which makes the ugly fact of war seem more rather than less remote. It gets off to a particularly unconvincing start in the first scene,

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in which three young men in a small Ohio town are waiting to be summoned for training. One of them is married; all are presumably eighteen or over. All of them have a passion for flying which one does not question, but when an airplane passes over they act not like young men, however adolescent, but like boys of twelve or fourteen. And there is a difference.

From there on, Mr. Hart's characters behave like college boys rather than high-school kids, and that is an improvement; it is well known that young Americans in army camps do act like college boys. But a dramatist should know also that this behavior is in part at least a defense; and in this context even horse play takes on irony and a kind of dignity. These overtones are missing from Mr. Hart's play. The raw reality of war is never made manifest, and the last scene, in which he tries to picture a night of terror in the South Pacific, is the most unreal of all.

What we get, in short, is an authorized version of life in the Army Air Force with all the terror and the boredom left out—and most of the horse play as well. The production is handsomely mounted and well directed, though its pace should be quickened—the speeches of the chaplain and others would be no less realistic for being shorter. The acting is competent, but there are no outstanding performances, partly because of the limitations of the play itself. The burlesque of the Andrews sisters is the funniest thing in the show. Its raucous spirit is authentic, and a few more such outbursts would add reality as well as fun to Mr. Hart's otherwise far too tame and well-behaved version of military life.

As pageant, "Winged Victory" is lavish, colorful, and informative. As play it is feeble and at times boring. There are touching episodes, and the G. I. cast itself makes an irresistible appeal to the affections. But for all one's willingness to be moved, the deeper emotions are not tapped, and one ends by wishing that Mr. Hart knew less about air training and more about human nature.

MARGARET MARSHALL

## Film Notes

"THE CROSS OF LORRAINE" is a melodrama about French soldiers in a German military prison. Tay Garnett, who made "Bataan," directed it, and did an even better job. Half a football team worked on the story, yet except for a foolish coda it is one of the most edged, well-characterized, and naturally cinematic scripts of the year. There are no performances below pretty good in the whole of a large cast; I especially like Hume Cronyn as a born appeaser, Gene Kelly as his opposite, Jean Pierre Aumont as a man in the middle, Sir Cedric Hardwicke as a priest, Joseph Calleia as a leftist, and Tonio Selwart as a Nazi. There is some second-rate theatrical, literary, and merely political mannerism, but a surprising amount of it comes to life. There is also a good deal of shock and brutality, for which Mr. Garnett seems to have a special talent. Some of the camera work is very good.

"Cry Havoc" is a sincere fourth-rate picture made from a sincere fifth-rate play about nurses on Bataan. By fourth-rate I mean it is incomparably less offensive than "So Proudly We Hail." In fact, in spite of many very bad things in it and its intrinsic staginess, I was often touched by it, simply because the members of the cast (Margaret Sullavan, Ann Sothern, Joan Blondell, Ella Raines, and several others) seemed to care a great deal about the thing they were re-enacting.

"Government Girl," a comedy about war-time Washington, is Dudley Nichols's first shot at directing. Some of it is awful, especially some of the things gentle little Miss De Havilland has to do for the laughs of the canaille. But some more of it has a crude energy and lack of timidity and polish which are a pleasure even when nothing much else is doing. And here and there—especially with the surprising Sonny Tufts and other men—Nichols gets down some sharp, nasty, funny comment on business men and politicians.

JAMES AGEE

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# RECORDS

WHEREAS Nos. 2 and 3 of Beethoven's "Rasumovsky" Quartets Opus 59 have the dramatic intensity and vigor we associate with Beethoven in his middle period, No. 1 has a first movement which is quietly reflective and expansively lyrical, an extraordinary *scherzando* second movement which is delicate, graceful, relaxed in its wonderfully mingled lightheartedness, capriciousness, and wistfulness, a quiet and deeply affecting slow movement, a finale which is gracefully lilting. All these qualities are realized in the performance by the Roth Quartet that Columbia has had in its catalogue for several years—a performance itself relaxed, lyrical, delicate, graceful, and also beautiful in physical sound. On the other hand, the performance by the Busch Quartet newly issued by Columbia (Set 543, $6.50) is full of excessive accentuations, inflections, and clippings of phrase-ends which are crude and harsh; the performance, then, is almost totally lacking in delicacy and grace; in addition its physical sound is made unpleasantly brash and coarse by the recording, and even worse by the noises of the defects of side 10 of my copy; and on several sides there is wavering of pitch. As for the eleven sides of this version, as against the usual ten, my guess was wrong: the Busch Quartet does play the slow movement more slowly than the Roth, but not too slowly, and in fact quite well—better than the other movements; and it is the second movement that is on three sides—with considerable blank space on each—as against the Roth version's two.

Schubert's Sonatina Opus 137 No. 1 is a work of little consequence which, however, one might like to listen to for Szigeti's playing if the sound of the playing were not made so unpleasant by the recording (Set X 238, $2.50).

Well recorded, on the other hand, is the beautiful sound of Risë Stevens's voice as she sings *Divinités du Styx* from Gluck's "Alceste" and *Ah! mon fils* from Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète" with good musical style; the orchestral accompaniment conducted by Leinsdorf is, however, insufficiently audible (71486-D, $1). Voice and orchestra are better balanced on the older Victor record of *Divinités,* but Traubel's powerful voice is clouded by a strong tremolo.

Columbia has issued its recording of Beecham's performance of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 538, $4.50). The work is delightful; Beecham plays the first and third movements superbly; for the second, unfortunately, he adopts one of his occasional over-deliberate tempos; and one feels a little of this holding back in the whirling finale, which otherwise is excellently done. The recorded sound is bad in the first and last movements—dull, poorly balanced, noisily confused in *fortissimo* with the Brush pickup, merely a little brighter with the Astatic Trutan; it is quite good in the second and third—well-balanced, clear, normal. There is a great deal of wavering pitch in my copy; and there are noises from surface and processing defects. The old Victor set, as incompletely as it reproduces Koussevitzky's marvelous performance with the Boston Symphony, is still the one to get of this work—though I have had reports of bad surfaces in recently bought copies.

As it happens, Columbia's record classic this time is Volume 1 of the Delius Society (Set 305, $7.50), offering superb performances by Beecham with the London Philharmonic which were recorded in England with the rich-


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ness of sound and cleanness of definition that are lacking in the American recording of the Mendelssohn symphony; though I must add that on some of the sides of my copy of this repressing the sound wavers a little in pitch. The orchestral works are the Nocturne "Paris," written in 1899; the finale of the opera "Koanga," written between 1895 and 1897; "Eventyr," inspired by Norwegian legends, and first performed in 1919; and an Interlude and Serenade from the incidental music for "Hassan," written in 1923. In all of them there is the characteristic gorgeousness of sound which is enriched, elaborated, subtilized in the later ones; and whereas when I heard them last I liked the first two better than the others, I now find them all equally pleasant to listen to. But the two songs on the last side—"To the Queen of My Heart" and "Love's Philosophy," well sung by the tenor Heddle Nash—I still do not care for.

Unaware of Leonard Bernstein's pinch-hitting for Bruno Walter with the New York Philharmonic, I listened to some of Schnabel's performances at the Frick Collection. He played with wonderful rhythm and humor and grace in Beethoven's Bagatelles Opus 33 and the scherzo of Schumann's G minor Sonata; but the occasional tendency to overload a phrase with significance distorted the exquisite form of Mozart's Rondo K.511 and made its delicate content ponderous, and it over-sentimentalized the lovely slow movement of Schumann's Sonata and some of the slower passages in the finale.

Later in the afternoon Toscanini's broadcast performance of Debussy's "Ibéria" with the N. B. C. Symphony seemed to me the best I had ever heard from him—relaxed and plastic in the first two movements, and integrating all the changes of pace and style in the last movement as it seemed to me I had never heard him do before. It may be that he was doing the same things as he had always done and that it was I who was hearing them for the first time; but I have heard performances from him that were astoundingly different—a first movement of Beethoven's Ninth, for example, that was taut and relentlessly driving, another that was relaxed and spacious; so perhaps this performance of "Ibéria" did surpass all his others. And he did a magnificent job with Gershwin's "American in Paris," which I think is the best of Gershwin's ambitious works.

B. H. HAGGIN

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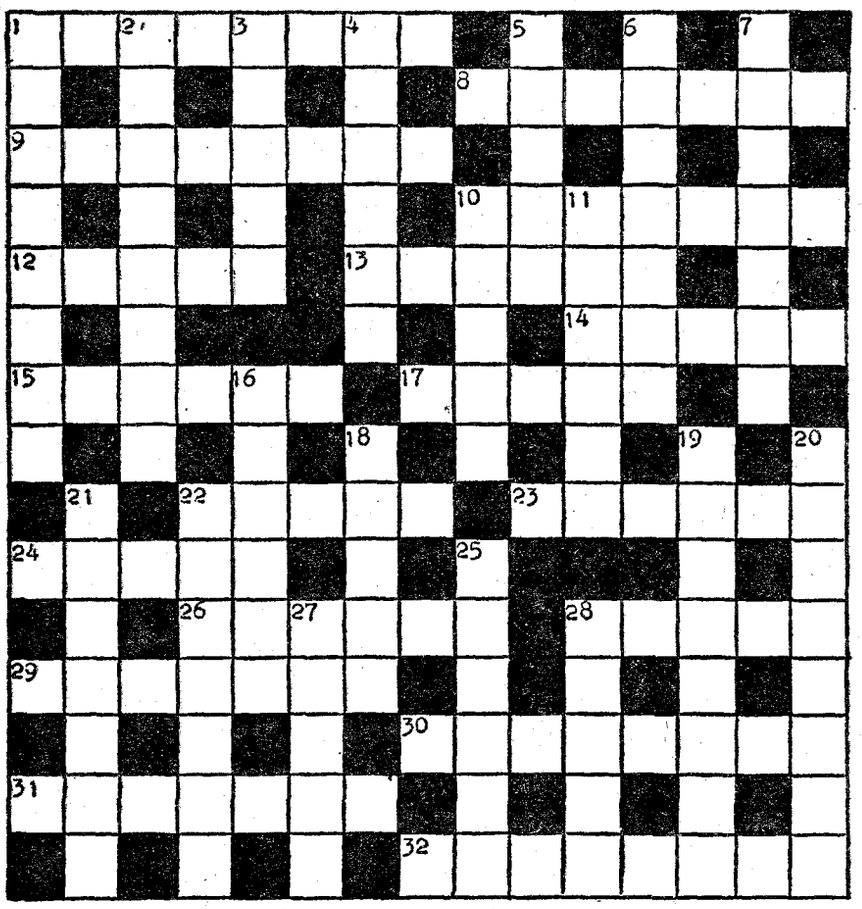
# Cross-Word Puzzle No. 41

By JACK BARRETT



## ACROSS

1 Our next President will be, beyond any question of doubt
8 A diplomatic case?
9 Is it the ink in them that prevents sidelong glances?
10 Bad writing of which many of our best authors are guilty
12 Descried
13 One sort of collar
14 Cut that is just short of being serious
15 England's Mr. Bevin sounds determined
17 A superior kind of porter
22 Not a happy name for anyone's family, especially an abstainer's
23 "I counted two-and-seventy------es, All well defined, and several stinks" (Coleridge)
24 Tuneless slumber song
26 Might one call it the prince of birds?
28 Colloquially, one ruined beyond recovery
29 Chirpy insects
30 Their liberality is carried to extremes
31 A railroad one has nothing to do with the lowering of fares
32 Resent it? Not when it's a dividend!

## DOWN

1 Am unlike good wine, sprung on you unawares
2 Books *en masse*
3 Like some writers after a dip
4 The Dark Continent
5 Sought by cooks and investors
6 This place of amusement naturally includes a bar
7 English poet who was shy about some French girl
10 A bad thing to be out of
11 Outcome of turning an ulster
16 There's a lot of good stuff here, but you want to twist it about to see how it drapes
18 They are supposed to have a paradise of their own
19 I accompany a devout lady with fruit and fill to abundance
20 Ravenous (hyphen, 5 and 3)
21 Wanting what *you've* already got, possibly
22 "------- the keen air, and carols as he goes" (Goldsmith)
25 Effort to change trains
27 These are to your credit
28 Dress of a French duke

### SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 40

ACROSS:—1 VESTRYMAN; 6 DATUM; 9 STRETCH; 10 ITALICS; 11 ATE; 12 ORGIES; 13 TOOL; 15 OUTSPENT; 16 LARIAT; 18 GREECE; 20 BONHOMIE; 23 NOUS; 24 NOTION; 25 RED; 28 TETHERS; 29 OATMEAL; 30 PARIS; 31 TARANTULA.

DOWN:—1 VESTA; 2 SURFEIT; 3 RETROSPECT; 4 MAHOGANY; 5 NAILED; 6 DRAB; 7 TRIPOLI; 8 MISTLETOE; 14 WASHINGTON; 15 ORGAN STOP; 17 KOHINOOR; 19 EQUATOR; 21 MORCEAU; 22 CORSET; 26 DELTA; 27 SEAS.

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